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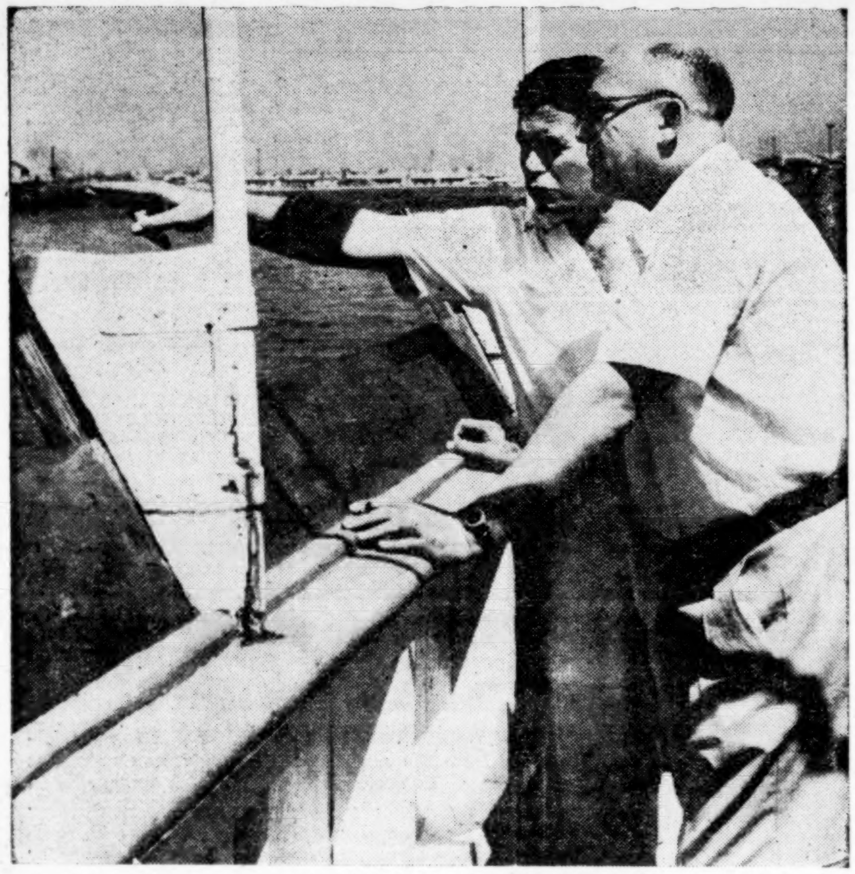


A gap is filled in the Big Ditch
A Russian "lend-lease" pilot (r.) getting instructions at Suez

ALLIES REJECT DULLES PLAN

Compromise sought as UN gets Suez; Eden's in trouble

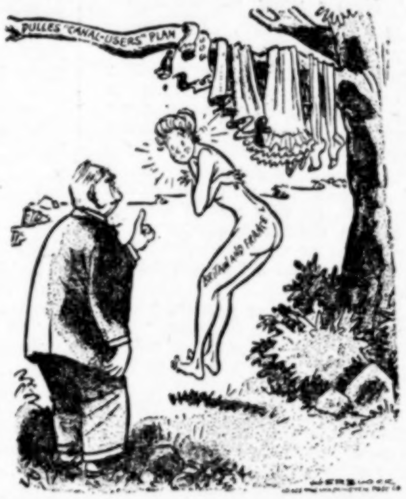
THE SUEZ CANAL USERS' CONFERENCE, held in London Sept. 19-21, opened with a roar and closed with a whimper. Less than 48 hours later, Britain and **France placed the Suez crisis before the UN Security Council. In a counter-move** Egypt filed a protest with the UN on Sept. 24 accusing Britain and France of endangering the peace and violating the UN charter.

Spawned by U.S. Secy. of State Dulles, the London talk originally called for establishing a Suez Canal Users' Assn. (SCUA) comprising a select group of canal users hand-picked by Dulles and British Prime Minister Eden. The association would: (1) Coordinate the actions of the members vis-a-vis the Egyptian government; (2) Collect canal dues of its members; (3) Provide members' ships with the association's own pilots; (4) Furnish a legal fig-leaf for the Western powers when the Suez issue came up in the UN.

Dulles' plan was devised partly to rescue Eden from the box in which the Prime Minister found himself as a result of his "gunboat diplomacy." Immediately before the conference, clarification of the four-point plan disclosed that SCUA's main task would be to send in a test ship with its own pilot and to initiate a boycott of the canal if Egypt refused to let the ship through.

NO LEGAL CLAIM: In France, and especially in Britain, as the London **Times'** diplomatic correspondent pointed out (9/22), "it was widely believed that the Western powers were proposing that if ships of the association were stopped they would shoot their way through." To thoughtful observers it was obvious from the beginning that the conference was doomed to fail if it stuck to its main purpose—a showdown with Nasser.

The British **Manchester Guardian** (9/19), for example, found it "difficult to see [the plan's] legal justification or practicability." It asked: "By what authority or right will this arbitrarily selected association claim to collect the canal dues?" The paper pointed out that Egypt's nationalization of the Suez Canal Co. was an accomplished fact; that even the Western powers had recognized Egypt's legal right to do so; and that the Suez Canal Co. was still in existence, pending the winding up of its affairs.



Herblock in Washington Post
"Hang your clothes on a hickory limb but don't go near the brink."

Some jingoists were also having second thoughts about shooting it out with Nasser. Quick victory in such a war seemed increasingly uncertain, while it became more certain than ever that such a war would spread through the entire Middle East, perhaps involving Israel and inciting sabotage of oil wells and pipelines.

THE TEETH COME OUT: Canal boycott, too, it became obvious, would inflict more suffering on canal users dependent on their foreign trade than on Egypt

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"BLIGHT ON OUR NATIONAL LIFE"

Cain calls for scrapping of Internal Security Act

By Lawrence Emery

WHEN A MEMBER of the Subversive Activities Control Board announces a day after leaving the post that he favors repealing the law that set it up, it would seem to be news. But the U. S. press has been strangely silent on an interview with Harry P. Cain in the Washington, D. C., **Sunday Star** on Sept. 2 in which he advocates scrapping the Internal Security Act of 1950—for which he himself voted as a U. S. Senator from the State of Washington.

Cain has long been a vociferous critic of the Eisenhower-Brownell security-loyalty program, but this is the first time he has attacked the McCarran Act which he helped administer for three years. He now holds that the law constitutes government interference with free speech; that it makes second-class citizens of members of proscribed organizations by depriving them of the right to government employment, defense jobs and travel abroad; that it defies the Fifth Amendment; and that by its very nature it makes virtually impossible an acquittal of a cited organization.

ANGUISH IS OVER: Cain was the hearing officer in SACB proceedings against the Washington (State) Pension Union and his last act before leaving the board was to find that the organization fell within the law's wide-ranging definition of a "communist front." But Daniel M. Berman, who interviewed Cain, wrote:

"While he was making that decision . . . Mr. Cain was racked with doubt about the wisdom—or even the Constitutionality—of the law he was administering. Now the long period of mental anguish is over and he has made up his mind: the Internal Security Act of 1950 should be scrapped."

He quoted Cain as saying of the law that it has accomplished nothing but to help "perpetrate an atmosphere in which loyalty oaths, purges of government workers, and heresy trials remain a continuing blight on our national life."

The interview suggested the inherent unfairness of the law:

"As a government official he [Cain] was duty bound to apply the law to the Pension Union. But as a thoughtful American he felt the organization posed no threat to the nation's security and thus did not merit the severe penalties which now hang over it. He grew more

(Continued on Page 8)

THE NICARAGUA ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT

Somoza: Dulles' favorite Latin watch-dog

ANASTASIO SOMOZA, president and chief property-holder of Nicaragua, whom Edwin Lahey of the Chicago **Daily News** once called "the State Department's chief house dick south of the border," lay in a Canal Zone hospital last week, critically wounded by an assassin.

Attending him was a battery of top-notch U.S. and Panamanian medical men headed by Gen. Leonard D. Heaton, commandant of Walter Reed Hospital, who had operated on President Eisenhower when he was stricken with ileitis. The U.S. had rushed Gen. Heaton by Air Force plane to Nicaragua and had then sped Somoza to the U.S.-operated Gorgas Hospital in Ancon.

Washington's concern and lavish attentions seemed fitting compensation for a faithful servant, injured in line of duty.

A START IS MADE: Somoza, son of a fairly well-to-do coffee planter, early tasted U.S. life and methods as a student of bookkeeping and business administration in Philadelphia's Pearce School. There he met and married a student at a finishing school, Salvadora DeBayle, a match which boosted him several notches in the Nicaraguan social scale. He returned to his native land, then run by the U.S. Marines to whom Somoza accommodated cheerfully. He took over an automobile agency, promoted prize fights and ball games, worked as an accountant and, in 1925, became tax collector of the town of Leon.

He hopped aboard a revolution then in progress with a following of Marine bayonets, came out of it as governor of Leon and secy. to the commander of the Nicaraguan Army. He proved so valuable that in 1932 U.S. Minister to Nicaragua Matthew Hanna wrote into the agreement providing for withdrawal of the Marines that Somoza was to be director of the Army and in effect the country's boss.

SANDINO'S FIGHT: Throughout the occupation, Nicaraguans had never stopped battling the Marines with rifles, machetes or their bare hands. One of the rebel

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THE MAIL BAG

How's your oil well?

OAKLAND, CALIF.

A letter to the San Francisco **Chronicle** re the Suez crisis says: "If we allow the Egyptians to get away with this, how can we stop the Saudi-Arabians from expropriating our oil wells?"

The questions arise: how many of us own oil wells in Saudi Arabia? And why should we pay taxes to defend Standard Oil's properties or why should we get our heads shot off in defending them?

In 1918 we were panicked into a war because the Germans were sinking "our" ships. How many of us owned ships that were being sunk?

According to Lincoln Steffens, President Wilson asked Congress to pass a law to the effect that all foreign investments were to be made the risk of the investor only, and under no circumstances would the armed forces of the U.S. be called upon to protect these investments. But Congress laughed at him.

When are we going to wake up? **Name Withheld**

Only foolin'

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Both Democrat
And Republican planks
For Civil Rights
Shoot only blanks.

L. G.

Equal Rights Party

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I was very much impressed with a letter in the Sept. 17 GUARDIAN recommending a Negro Rights Party. I am sure no one is more pained than myself with what has been happening to my people as far as the two old parties, the Democrats-Republicans, are concerned. I heartily congratulate the writer for the idea, only I would not call it a Negro Rights Party, but an Equal Rights Party. **W. P.**

The real treason

FLUSHING, N.Y.

Reader Hochman devotes three sentences to tearing apart a 672-page book (John Wexley's **Judment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg**), every page of which is filled with facts as well as suppositions that raise a final terrifying doubt about the case. Mr. Wexley does not have to be wholly right in his conclusions; his is a frankly partisan work that raises hundreds of pertinent questions no one else had bothered to ask. The answers lie in the trial record.

As amazing as Wexley's conclusion is, it seems quite clear to me after reading the trial record—not as carefully as I would have liked to, but fairly closely—that Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, and Morton Sobell, were victims of the political climate, and were found guilty only of being favorable in their thinking to the Soviet Union.

To remain silent to an injustice which extended to murder, as well as the loss of two young children's parents, would be, to my mind, actual treason to one's country. **High-School Student**

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

(PNS)—The 20th Century may get to be known as the "Age of Tranquility" judging from reports about the new tranquility drugs.

When the market crashes of the future occur, instead of throwing themselves out of the window, or voting Democratic, the victims will simply take a preparation of rauwolfia and chuckle over their losses.

Los Feliz Hills **News,**
Calif., Sept. 6

One year free sub to sender of each item under this heading. Winner this week: Howard Feldman, Los Angeles. Be sure to send original clipping with date of each entry.

One man's guess

LEXINGTON, MASS.

In commending your review of Prof. Sharp's book (**Was Justice Done?**) I make bold to add a straw. The author attaches value to the appearance of $4,000 in a manila envelope. He thinks that up to the time that Greenglass had legal counsel Greenglass did not realize that he was suspect. One may guess that Greenglass would not have been able to get counsel so competent without the money for it.

Again one guesses that the development of the spy plot required accomplices. The $4,000 showed up at the very time that it was needed. The sum was the diabolus of the machinery. Prof. Sharp makes some guesses as to the source of so much cash among the indigent. Might he have guessed that the source which had funds for the hiring of the Matusows, Budenzes, Bentleys, etc., may have had funds for the hiring of competent legal advice? **Marlin W. Ennis.**

Van Orden Fund helps

NEWARK, N.J.

This $200 is from the Katharine Van Orden Fund to help meet the GUARDIAN's emergency needs. We know she would have wanted us to do this.

Ida Rocklin

If . . .

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

If Ike should ask Bulganin,
"Will your country cut its
cannon,
If my country leads the way?"

If Bulganin answers Ike,
"On this we think alike,
And we'll cut the day you say."

If Ike will try and does succeed,
The hearts of men will hail his
deed,
Forever more they'll sing his
name,
With love, in peaceful Halls
of Fame.

V. M.S.

Join the chain gang

JACKSONVILLE, MO.

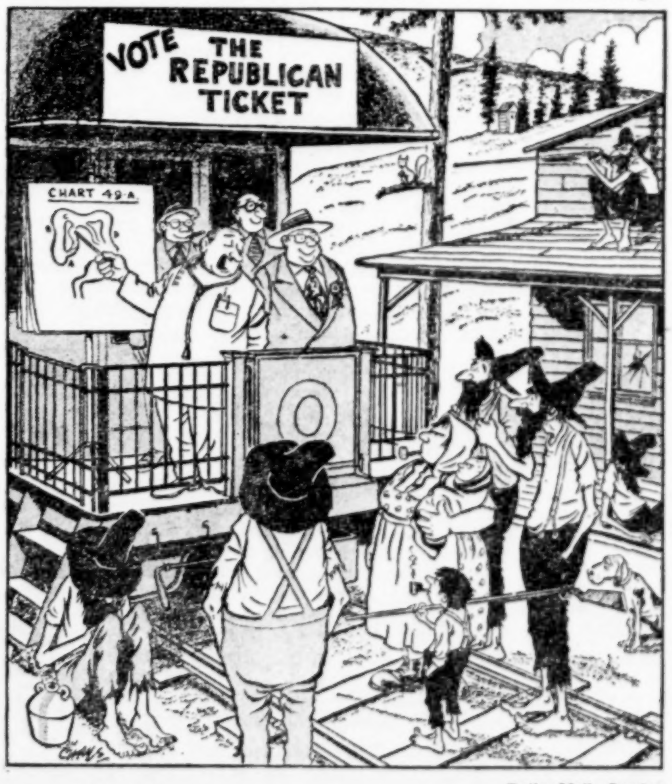
A friend voiced condemnation of the capitalists' monopoly of our economic system, and I suggested he read the GUARDIAN, which he had never heard of. I said I would send him a trial six-month sub, and asked him that if he liked it to do likewise and send some new reader a six-month sub. Let's all get on this chain gang and pass it along.

Adam Farmer

The matchmaker

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Great White Father Ike got stuck with shewd political climber boy Dick Nixon by virtue of Leonard Hall's ultra-partisan decision. **Louis Negel**



Daily Mail, London

"From the position of the post-operative lesions of the ileum, and the absence of adverse coronary reaction—you will readily appreciate therefore . . ."

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the progressive newsweekly

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Vol. 8, No. 50 401 October 1, 1956

REPORT TO READERS

Infamous Act

WE HAVE THREE PARTICULAR REASONS for printing the following excerpts from the address to the Court by Communist leader James E. Jackson. He spoke at the time of his sentencing in New York Sept. 17 to two years in prison under the Smith Act. Here are the reaosns:

- It is in our opinion a reasoned and exemplary statement for socialism in America.
- It is a true measure of the men and women who are being persecuted in our country today by a Know-Nothing government under the Smith Act.
- It correctly places the emphasis for today where it belongs, on a renewed effort to wipe the Smith Act off the books and reestablish the right to freedom of thought in America.

WE OF THE GUARDIAN believe that pledges of opposition to the Smith Act should be obtained from candidates for Congress seeking your vote in the 1956 elections. Since the defeat of the late Rep. Vito Marcantonio of New York and the death of Rep. Adolph Sabath of Illinois six years ago, there has not been a whisper of opposition to the Smith Act in Congress, and certainly no bill for its repeal has been introduced since the passing of these two Congressmen.

We believe also that full support should be given to the committees fighting Smith Act persecution through the courts. The week of Oct. 8, the Supreme Court hears arguments on the California and Pittsburgh convictions and the membership conviction of Claude Lightfoot and Junius Scales. The Puerto Rican cases go to trial Oct. 15. The latest New York cases, of which Jackson was one, are now headed for the Court of Appeals. Groups of cases in Hawaii, Seattle, Michigan, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Denver, Ohio, Connecticut and Boston are in various court stages. In addition, 16 additional membership cases await the outcome of the Lightfoot and Scales appeals in the Supreme Court.

We commend Mr. Jackson's statement below to your attention.

I HAVE NEVER advocated, nor joined in any conspiracy with either my co-defendants or any other person to promote or organize the overthrow of this government by force and violence.

That I have been an advocate of a type of social order—socialism, that is—which would necessitate a series of fundamental changes in the government, has been a matter of public knowledge for a number of years. Throughout these years it has been my belief that such an economic system (wherein the means of production as well as the resultant products, the natural resources and the great fruits of scientific achievement become the community property of all the people) will constitute a firmer foundation upon which to build ever nobler and broader the democratic edifice.

Indeed, it was my concern with the problems of democracy and the ways to their solution (in respect to my people, the Negro people, in the first instance) which led to my interest in socialism.

Therefore, to me, socialism is not and cannot be a concept or advocacy in opposition to democracy; on the contrary, it is born of the needs of democracy and represents democracy's logical extension to the economic foundations of our present-day society.

THE CONTENTION of the prosecution, however, has been that in spite of what I might have said or believed personally, I could not have avoided advocating social change through the means of force and violence. They contend that all protestations on my part and all testimony to the contrary can only be reckoned as self-serving declarations. The prosecution makes its contention on the premise that I and my colleagues and the Communist Party of the U. S. have studied, quoted and distributed the books of Marx, Engels, Lenin and other notable Marxists of world reputation, and that in some of these works can be gleaned quotations which advocate social revolution by violent means.

I have of course studied the works of these writers who pioneered in applying the dialectical and historical method of the study of society. But I have always sought to study them with due regard for scientific method. I have not viewed them as infallible dogmas and catechisms to be memorized. I have not endeavored to lift historic illustrations of the practical application of the Marxist method in other countries for application here

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TIBOR DERY: YOU CANNOT BUILD ON DISTRUST OF THE PEOPLE

Hungary: The writers fight for democracy under socialism

By Ursula Wassermann

Special to the Guardian

BUDAPEST, HUNGARY

". . . A YOUTH WHO WILL AID THE PEOPLE IN THE CONQUEST OF THE FUTURE"
Hungarian girls preparing for a celebration with the dove of peace held aloft

OF THE THREE PEOPLE I wanted to see most during a brief visit to Hungary, I was lucky enough to see two. If I did not see former Premier Imre Nagy, it was due more to lack of time than lack of cooperation. But I saw and talked at length with Tibor Dery, perhaps Hungary's greatest contemporary writer, at his home in Budapest; and Tibor Tardos, journalist, at the beautiful Writers' House on Lake Balaton—Count Esterhazy's former Palace.

These three share more than the experience of having been expelled from the Communist Party within the last 18 months: as the symbols of democratization they are the most talked about people in Hungary today.

THE PETOFI SPEECH: The expulsion of Dery and Tardos followed their famous appearance at the last meeting of the Petőfi Circle on June 27—by odd coincidence a day linked to Poland's Black Thursday at Poznan. The Petőfi Circle, originally founded by Hungary's Youth Movement, had been holding frequent discussion meetings since March. At one of these meetings Mme. Rajk, widow of the executed Laszlo Rajk, made her impassioned plea on behalf of the then unrehabilitated victims.

The June 27 meeting was held at the Budapest Officers' Casino—an unusual place for highly critical discussion. The subject was freedom of the press. The audience, close to 8,000, was unexpectedly large since the Circle appealed to select groups as a rule. Overflow meetings were connected to the main hall by loudspeakers. The meeting lasted until 4 a.m. Tardos, as a journalist, confined himself to the press; but Dery—whose latest novel, **Niki**, the story of the life of a dog set against the political background of the Rajk trial is today's Hungary's best-seller—spoke on the freedom of the written word as such. Further, he discussed the basic causes for the ills of present-day socialist society where, he said, "individual freedom finds far fewer advocates than social duty." Not only personalities, he said, but theory must come under scrutiny. There were many, he added, who wanted to stop such criticism as had been expressed during the Nagy regime and has been given voice again after the 20th Soviet Congress. These people, he said, in their attempt to hinder socialist democracy, were even willing to call in the police. These forces might be willing to talk about methods, but not about a basic revaluation of theory.

Discussion to date, he said, had been possible only with permission from above; those participating were like actors in a play not staged by themselves. A few thousand—usually the same few thousand—were discussing and arguing only within the framework of a well-conceived psychological plan: to permit a limited letting off of steam as a safety valve. But a safety valve, he said, does not eliminate brakes.

FALSE THEORIES: Dery directly attacked those whom he considered the embodiment of false theories. He accused Márton Horváth, editor of **Szabad Nép**, CP central organ, of changing his position constantly. Dary remarked: "I say position, not opinion, because I do not know his opinion regarding the views he represents." (Asked at the general meeting of the Writers' Assn. last April why he had changed his stand so often, Horváth replied that, as a member of the Central Committee, he was obliged to represent the Party's stand at any given time.) "I have no confidence in Horváth," Dery said. "I dare not leave literature in his hands."

He said former Minister of Culture Reval was ignorant of the realities of contemporary Hungarian literature: "I maintain that he is personally responsible for the deterioration in our art and literature which began in 1948 and has continued until just recently. . . . Dogmatism always speaks of the so-called successes of our so-called young writers. Our literature is not young; it is at least 800 years old, and this so-called ten-year-old literature is of no merit. If any good books have been written during this decade, it is not because of but in spite of our literary policy."

A WRITER'S MAIN CONCERN: Dery held Jozsef Darvas, present Minister of Culture, more responsible than the rest since Darvas, as a writer, should have foreseen the dangers. Always acting against his better knowledge, Dery said, Darvas inevitably decided in favor of policy and against the interests of art and literature. As a result of errors, policy and literature lacked a common basis.

"I am a Communist," Dery said. "I cannot deny my profound sympathy for those confronted with this conflict. But in my view, the conflict still remains unsolved." Then he said (and this was most responsible for Dery's expulsion from the Party): "Here we are confronted with structural errors [in our society] which unnecessarily limit the rights of the individual. . . . As a writer my main concern is man. My criticism begins when I see man unhappy, especially when I see men and women suffer unnecessarily."

The greatest fault of the present leadership, he said, was their distrust of the people: "They build and function on suspicion and distrust. They underestimate the people's sense of honor and its moral force; its capacity to think and to create. But we who have always believed in our people . . . have the duty to create conditions under which love of life and love of work can once again function normally. The prerequisite for such conditions is honest thinking."

THE PARTY'S ANSWER: In conclusion Dery said criticism should be directed where it belonged: to the top leadership. "We must have no more scapegoats," he said, "small fry who by carrying out orders were sure they were serving the Party loyally." He asked Hungary's youth not to forget their revolutionary ancestors of 1848: "We used to call them the Youth of '48." As for me, I shall want to see a 'Youth of '56' who will aid the people in their conquest of the future."

As Dery finished, the audience went wild with enthusiasm. The Party's answer was expulsion. And despite the fact that almost all writers and journalists formerly discredited have recently been rehabilitated—editors are returning in force to their former jobs—Tardos and Dery remain unrehabilitated. They write, they publish—any story of Dery's appearing in a periodical is sold out almost before it hits the newsstands—they live in great comfort. Dery had without difficulty obtained a passport and was preparing for a holiday in Italy and Switzerland.

But the impasse continues; the party apparatus has not yet been thoroughly reformed and there remain certain people who have neither the will nor the courage to change, I was told with some impatience. I would add that these people possibly have neither the ability nor the knowledge. It takes a long time to reconstruct a cumbersome and complicated machine, heavily weighted with bureaucracy, and with old loyalties which are hard to throw overboard.

MESSAGE TO AMERICA: The Party insists that rehabilitation will be considered only if Tardos and Dery petition to this effect. But Dery, an old-time Communist, made it quite clear that he would not go to Canossa. Other forces presumably will have to act as mediators. The Writers' Union in August, in a unanimous resolution, demanded the re-admission of the two. The Hungarian Writers' Congress was expected to act as conciliator too. The impasse cannot continue for long, because nothing is static in Hungary today. There is a fresh wind blowing across the Pusta—the wind of 1848.

In a special message to the readers of the GUARDIAN, Dery told me:

"The fight today is concerned with the concept of socialist democracy. The fight is hard and all the harder because we ourselves have not yet completely clarified this concept. I trust that we will reach our goal in the best and, I believe, the only possible way: Through the closest contact with the realities of life.

"The fight for democracy in America—as far as I am acquainted with it on the basis of your profound historical tradition—holds hundreds of brotherly contacts with our own striving. It would make me a happier and wiser man to have the opportunity one day of getting to know your country in person."

Infamous Act

(Continued from Page 2)

without reference to difference in time, place and circumstances, as the prosecution suggests.

On the contrary, I have sought to determine what is valid and useful in these writings as distinguished from what is in error, outmoded or inapplicable. It has always been my view that Marxism as a social science has to be studied as a science and not viewed as holy scripture; it recognizes one law above all others; that is, motion and development—old propositions and estimates giving way to new propositions and analysis.

THE OBJECT of my people's struggle traditionally has been, not to drive the foreign masters out, as is the bent of many other oppressed peoples, but to open doors barred against them. Always we have aspired to share in equality and dignity the realities and the promise of America in fellowship with all other Americans . . . Our future historically has depended upon our ability to secure allies, to find common ground with other classes, groups and parties in the general population who for whatever reason would raise our freedom banner and champion our cause.

Even though millions of Negroes who vote for Democratic or Republican candidates hold no brief for the Communist Party's general program of socialism, nevertheless I believe they would defend my right to pursue the struggle for their rights also through this political party. I feel they want the doors of political alternative left open to facilitate a greater responsiveness to their need and demands on the part of the Democratic or Republican Party of their current choice.

I AM CONVINCED, your Honor, that the guilty party in this case is the law under which it was brought—the Smith Act. I believe that the Congress has erred in its passage and that the integrity of the Bill of Rights is compromised by its punitive enforcement. The peril to our people's liberties which is represented in this law was the subject matter and scholarly concern of a notable dissent by Judge William Hastie, who, I must add with a sense of racial pride, happens to be a Negro, the only Negro on the Federal appellate bench. This opinion of Judge Hastie, as well as the earlier dissents of Justices Black and Douglas, while minority opinions, in my view is increasingly coming to be recognized as the ultimate popular judgment on this harmful law.

I firmly believe it is the duty of all men, responsive to the demands of democracy, to contribute some substantial effort toward its ultimate replacement.

Unmoral leadership

LONG BEACH, N.Y.

Our founding fathers set an example of moral leadership to the world by writing such great documents as the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. The would-be moral leaders in our country today make a mockery of these documents by writing more and more repressive legislation to degrade man. It was the intention of our founding fathers to elevate man by giving him the right to think, speak and write in harmony with his conscience. To teach and advocate the suppression of the true spirit of man, to use force and violence in sending him to jail for 20 years for quarreling with authority, is unmoral..

Miriam Stern

DANGEROUS PRECEDENT FOR NATION

Big drive is on to teach religion in N.Y. schools

By Elmer Bendiner

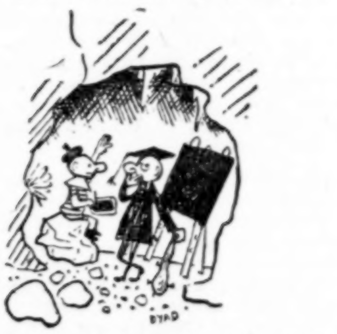
IN 1947 AN ILLINOIS LAW permitting religious instruction in the public schools was ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Its decision said that neither the federal nor any state government could "pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another. Neither can force nor influence a person to go or to remain away from church against his will or force him to profess a belief or disbelief in any religion."

In 1952, as the fight against "Godless public schools" gained ground, the Court ruled that children might be released from school for religious training on school time so long as it was not on school property. At that point Justices Jackson, Black and Frankfurter, dissenting, uttered a solemn warning. In his opinion Jackson said:

"The day that this country ceases to be free for irreligion it will cease to be free for religion—except for the sect that can win political power."

NEW ATTEMPT: At hearings in the Brooklyn offices of the New York City Board of Education last week spokesmen for a number of organizations spoke against a proposal that threatened to bring nearer the day foreseen by Justice Jackson. Up for consideration was a report on the "teaching of moral and spiritual values" in the public schools.

An earlier version of the report, approved by the Board of Superintendents in 1955, stirred bitter opposition, not from atheists or agnostics, but from religious groups representing almost every denomination but the Roman Catholic. The Board since then has softened the language of the report but the version up for discussion last week paved the way for the teaching of religion not in any class that could be so labeled but in all classrooms, all subjects.



Drawing by Dyad, London

"Please, teacher, who gets the millions they're saving on schools?"

THE 'MODIFICATIONS': The revised statement issued last July glossed over some of the direct injunctions to teach religion contained in the 1955 draft. For example, originally the report said that the study of industrial arts, sciences, mathematics would "invariably" lead to speculation about "the marvelous working of a Supreme Power."

The report now says that such courses "frequently give rise to serious thinking about the wonders of the natural world." There are other modifications but the report still asserts that moral values have their source in "love of God," that the "great majority of Americans believe that God is the Author of the moral code," that most children come to school with a belief in God. It identifies Americanism with religion, indicates that pupils must be taught "the religious underpinning of our moral and spiritual ideals."

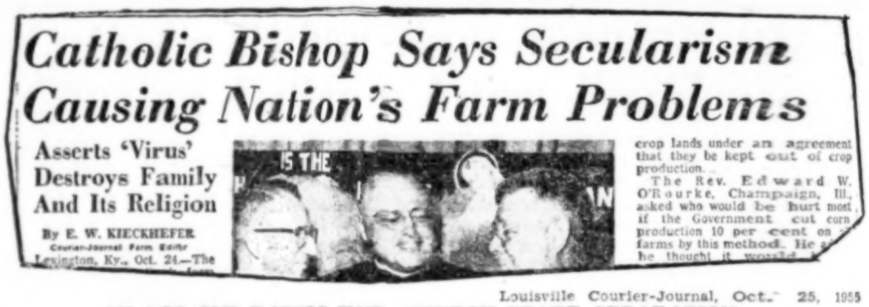
As a philosophic guide it declares that "the concept of infinity cannot do other than lead to humbleness before God's handiwork." It says students will realize that "application of the methods and procedures of science has definite limitations."

CLEAR THREAT: Most religious and educational circles were disturbed not so much by the violence done to agnostic or atheist sentiments but because it posed a clear threat to all religions except the one strong enough to dominate. William Lee Miller, former Prof. of Religion at Yale and Smith Colleges, wrote in the **Reporter** last year: "In the 19th century, when Roman Catholics were a small minority, they led the fight against religion in the public schools because they knew it would have a Protestant taste to it."

For those who comb the nation's guiding documents to find that this or that religion or religion, in itself, is a cornerstone, Miller had this to say: "There is a cornerstone in every corner."

When the 1955 draft was published, opposition was led by the United Parents Assn., the N.Y. Board of Rabbis, the Public Education Assn., the N.Y. City Protestant Council, American Jewish Congress, American Civil Liberties Union, **Commonweal** (a liberal Catholic lay publication), Citizens Comm. on Children, N.Y. Teachers Guild and the Teachers Union.

SHIFTING POSITIONS: Last week the line-up had changed. The Protestant Council, the Board of Rabbis, and the Public Education Assn. supported the revised version although the Board of Rabbis had some reservations. The Protestant Episcopal Diocese did not at once go along with the Protestant Council's shift in position, but indicated it needed more time to study the proposition.



Catholic Bishop Says Secularism Causing Nation's Farm Problems

Asserts 'Virus' Destroys Family And Its Religion

By E. W. KIECKHEFER
Courier-Journal Farm Editor

Lexington, Ky., Oct. 24—The

crop lands under an agreement that they be kept out of crop production.

The Rev. Edward W. O'Rourke, Champaign, Ill., asked who would be hurt most if the Government cut corn production 10 per cent on farms by this method. He

Louisville Courier-Journal, Oct. 25, 1955

AN AGE-OLD BATTLE FOR CHURCH-STATE SEPARATION

The Roman Catholic Archdiocese did not officially speak out but numerous Catholic agencies sent representatives to press for the declaration. Although the Board of Superintendents steadfastly denied that the report was designed to teach religion in the public schools, Catholic spokesmen said they were supporting the report because it would do exactly that. Mrs. Catherine Dorney of the American Education Assn. hailed the report as fulfilling one of the goals of her organization: to fight "secularism in the public schools."

The Society for Ethical Culture, Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and the American Humanists' Assn. also joined the opposition.

THE WARNING: Rose Russell, legislative representative of the Teachers Union, urged the Board to withdraw the report and substitute a simpler statement "on the importance of character training and of strengthening moral and ethical values." Failing that, Miss Russell asked that copies of the report be made available to all teachers and members of parents' organizations, and that all action on it be held up until teachers and parents had time to study it and speak up about it. She pointed out that the revised version of the report appeared during the teachers' vacations.

Miss Russell warned that when moral and spiritual values are made "the vehicle" for religious concepts, "controversy arises, tensions are generated, emotions aroused, divisions and diversions accentuated."

She found the Board's acknowledgement that "religious education and training are not functions of state-supported schools" contradicted by the report's recurrent theme that education includes an intensifying of the "love of God."

Dr. Morris Gall, President of the Assn. of Teachers of Social Studies, said the "mandate to teach a belief in God" violated "traditional American freedoms of teachers and children."

BOARD RUSHES ACTION: UPA Pres. Mrs. Gladys Harburger said that those who favored religious teaching had been free to establish their own schools.

The Board of Education heard 74 speakers and announced that it would hand down its decision on the report on Oct. 4. If it is adopted it will become a guide for teachers throughout the city and set a precedent for schools across the country.

Opponents of the report urged New Yorkers to write to the Board of Education at 110 Livingston St., Brooklyn, asking that any decision be postponed until parents and teachers had had time to consider it.

On another front, two members of the Freethinkers of America filed suit in the N.Y. Supreme Court against the schools' practice of amending the traditional pledge of allegiance to the flag by including the words "under God" after "this nation."

Already woven into the life of many N.Y. public school children are non-denominational prayers in the morning and grace before snack-time.

The Somoza story

(Continued from Page 1)

leaders was Augusto Cesar Sandino, who not only stirred Nicaragua, but all Latin America. In February, 1934, Somoza told a group of his followers: "I come from the American Embassy where I talked with Ambassador Arthur Bliss who assured me that the Washington government supports and recommends the elimination of Augusto Cesar Sandino, considering him a disturber of the peace of the country." Sandino was ambushed after dining with the then President in a peace parley, taken to a military camp and shot.

In the elections of 1936 Somoza allowed one of his followers to win the Presidency. But when the President began to remove members of Somoza's family from the public payroll he was overturned. Somoza took over in 1937, held office until 1947, installed his uncle for three years and, in 1950, restored himself to the title. He had never given up the actual power.

ONE BIG FAT CAT: In the course of his quarter-century as boss, Somoza has acquired 52 ranches, 46 coffee plantations, eight sugar plantations (with mills), 13 assorted factories, 50 houses and 92 other pieces of property in Nicaragua. He also owns three apartment houses in Miami, a ranch in Costa Rica and an estate in Canada. He dabbles in salt mines, gold mines and gambling houses, has a yearly income estimated at $1,000,000. He has also done well for his family and friends. In 1953 he complained that Nicaraguans "just do not like to see anyone big. It is just envy that kills people . . ."

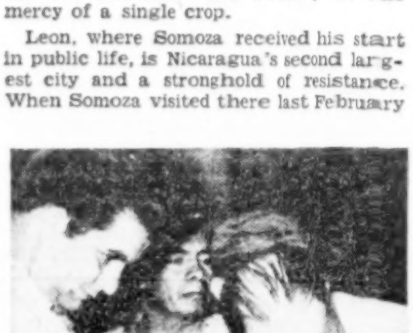
Somoza has been one of the State Dept.'s most belligerent watch-dogs in the hemisphere. There was evidence that the forces of Castillo Armas, which overthrew the Guatemalan regime of President Arbenz, were groomed on Nicaraguan soil. Somoza had singled out the mildly liberal administration of President Jose Figueres in Costa Rica for special fury. He has mounted an invasion of that country, thundered, blustered and challenged Figueres to a duel.

"MUY SIMPATICO": Figueres said of him: "He's crazy as a goat in the noonday sun." To U.S. visitors, however, Somoza's faults have been quaint rather than bloody. His guests have commented on his "impish" humor, his U.S. addiction to juke boxes, his frontiersman's way of posting machine guns around his patio.

The N.Y. **Times** (9/24) editorial on the assassination attempt against him admitted Somoza was a complete dictator but called him "an attractive personality—muy simpatico, as the Spanish phrase goes."

The U.S. government and banking interests like the Mellon Natl. Bank and Trust Co. have been even kinder and millions of dollars have been poured into the country to solve Somoza's worries. Even so the government still managed to create economic problems as profit-hungry speculators have lately turned the country over to cotton. This can ravage the soil and leave the country at the mercy of a single crop.

Leon, where Somoza received his start in public life, is Nicaragua's second largest city and a stronghold of resistance. When Somoza visited there last February funeral crepe hung on walls along with skulls and cross-bones and the words: "Death to Somoza."



SOMOZA (r.) AND SON
He knows all about guns

250 ARRESTED: Last week Somoza went to Leon again to receive the nomination of the National Liberation convention for re-election when his term expires in 1957. Afterwards he went to a dance at the Workers Center. There, while the band played, Rigoberto Lopez Perez, a newspaper compositor and writer, aimed six shots from a .38 caliber revolver at the dictator. Four hit the target; one in Somoza's body, two in an arm and one in a leg. Some reports said that Somoza's body-guard then shot Lopez; others say he was knocked down and beaten to death.

Somoza's sons, Luis, President of the Congress, and Anastasio Jr., heading the National Guard and the Air Force, told newsmen that Nicaragua was calm. Nicaraguan sources blamed exiles in El Salvador, Costa Rica and the world communist movement for the attempted assassination.

Under a state of siege, police rounded up some 250 persons, including two former presidents, both over 80, and a newspaper editor, heading the open opposition which operates with Somoza's consent. Also arrested were Lopez' mother, sister and brother.

The younger Somozas made it plain their father had ceded his powers to nobody. On the operating table in a U.S. hospital Somoza was still the boss.

HOW NEGROES ARE REACTING TO MOB ACTION

'This is as far as I run'

NEGRO STUDENTS ARRIVING TO ATTEND CLASSES AT CLINTON HIGH SCHOOL
What do they feel as they walk the gantlet? And what do the white youngsters really feel?

By Eugene Gordon

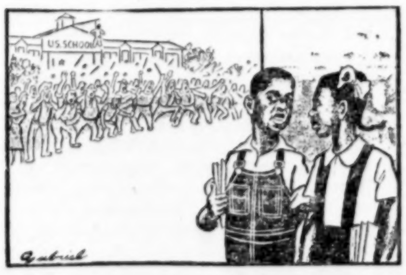
AS WHITE PERSONS in Kentucky and Tennessee resorted to mob action against school integration, and National Guardsmen and state troopers moved in as arbiters, the jeers, the threats and the legal proceedings were widely reported. But there is another and deeper aspect of the integration fight. What has been the psychological effect of these events on Negro parents and children? The impact is indicated in comments in the weekly Negro press.

A man in Clinton, Tenn., told Associated Negro Press correspondent Louis E. Lomax: "I moved from Mississippi because of white people. This is as far as I run. I'll die with my gun, shooting. My child is in the Clinton High School and nobody better not bother me nor him. We didn't start it, but if they come to my house I'll help end it."

ARSENALS IN THE HOMES: Lomax found each of the Negro homes he visited "a veritable arsenal." The living rooms were "cluttered with shotguns, rifles and ammunition"; the men "slept fitfully on sofas near the door." Cars in the Negro section were parked so they could "quickly evacuate women and children by way of the other side of the mountain" after dark. The men were organized into groups to take up duty at strategic points along the one road that leads up the mountain toward what the whites call "nigra town."

Just before 10-year-old James Henry Gordon and his sister Theresa, 8, were barred from the Clay, Ky., Consolidated School, Lomax wrote from there:

"The mayor of the town is against them. The one-man police force of the town is against them. The citizens are against them. The National Guard is not for them. It simply protects them. The other Negro families are against them, for they feel the actions of the children will invite violence and the 'white folks will burn our houses.' Their father is not with them. . . He would rather that they withdrew. They stand alone, except—and a big exception that is—for their 28-year-old mother and her 76-year-old mother, who is white."



Drawing by Gabriel, London

"They don't think we would benefit by the higher education that they have had!"

ULTIMATE BRAVERY: Lomax asked several Kentucky Negro boys why they insisted on going to the all-white Sturgis school, knowing they faced trouble. They answered: Sturgis has no school for Negroes but has both an elementary and a high school for whites; Sturgis High School has "better facilities" than the Negro high school in Morganfield; they would like to go to a school near home instead of traveling 22 miles a day to Morganfield and back.

A Negro who faces a lynch mob is brave indeed, Horace Cayton wrote in the Pittsburgh **Courier,** "but to send one's child into such tension, torture and danger is bravery that is hard to imagine." He said he was proud of the Negro youth shown in the press "walking through a hissing, cursing mob to enter the school" in Clinton. Cayton then thought of "the mountains of emotion" in the student's home before he went to school; of what his mother said "as he ate, or perhaps could not eat, his breakfast"; of what was said at the door as he left the relative security of his home.

WHAT BAFFLES THEM: Cayton wrote: "Then the Negro mother, in the isolation of fear and hope, had to bear the long hours before she had news of what would happen to her boy. What would such a mother do? Could she carry on her daily tasks of washing dishes, mending clothes and sweeping the floor? Or perhaps she might go upstairs and lie on the bed and cry . . . The Negro mother is brave and has great strength."

The Negro's is not "a bravery of hysterical, compulsive action" leading to violence, Cayton said; it is controlled, "born of determination and restraint." He said most Negro families in the South are armed, that the white-supremacists know that "if they overstep the bounds, transgress the line, force will be met by force." Thus the ku-kluxers, more frightened than ever, Cayton said, do not know how to deal with Negroes who, though provoked, still do not shoot up white people. What frightens and baffles the kluxer is the Negroes' "calm bravery in the face of hysteria."

WHAT OF WHITE KIDS? Atlanta Daily **World** managing editor William Gordon (9/6) spoke of "the youngsters in Tennessee, Texas and Kentucky, Negro and white, who witnessed for the first time the angry and bitter temperament of mobsters." He wrote:

"The real danger [in Clinton] is the effect the incidents had on the youngsters. There was the little [white] girl, led away from one of the schools. She was crying, perhaps not being able to understand what was really involved. Many parents no doubt did not really know what action to take in such a crisis. They merely followed the mob."

What made the experience so strange for the youngsters, Gordon wrote, was that "many of them had met and dealt with Negroes" in various ways. There "must have been" Negro cooks, maids, janitors. Some of the kids doubtless remembered earlier years and Negro nurses. Negroes prepared their food; cared for them in the parents' absence; protected them: "Out of such experiences must have grown friendships and deep affection." Gordon said he would like to know just how the story was twisted and told to these youngsters by the parents who followed the mob.

SOME QUESTIONS: The Los Angeles **Herald-Dispatch,** noting that "just one year after the brutal murder of Emmett Louis Till Negro children throughout the South are terrorized because they seek equal education in the land of their birth," put these questions to "the Negro citizens of America":

"Where have we failed? What should we do to make this America safe for our children? Why should our children be terrorized? Why should they have to go to school under protection of bayonets?"

The paper felt that the responsibility was chiefly the Negro's to guarantee "a peaceful America for our children" and that the first step would have to be "unity within our race."

The Baltimore **Afro-American** (9/15) recalled President Eisenhower's reply to a press-conference request for a message at school-opening "to the younger people" on their parents' behavior regarding integration: "Well, I can say what I have said so often: it is difficult, through law and through force, to change a man's heart. . ."

UNSPOKEN WORDS: The **Afro** declared: "Here was a golden opportunity for Mr. Eisenhower and he missed the boat. . . We think that if the President had had time to think up his reply . . . he would have said something like this:

"You young people in school today are our citizens of tomorrow. Among other things you will study government. We are all governed by the Constitution of the United States. The Supreme Court interprets the Constitution. As President I am sworn to uphold the Constitution and to do my best to see that it is carried out by every person in this country. And I hope you will help me do it."

The **Afro** added: "The situation today concerns obedience of laws as interpreted by the highest court in the land. It is not a matter of changing a man's heart. That is a problem for the church and other organizations. As chief administrative officer in the land, Mr. Eisenhower's advice to young people should have expressed a definite, positive understanding of the law and every citizen's obligation to obey it."

HIS DUTY REMAINS: The California **Eagle** conceded that the President is correct" when he contends that the Federal government cannot act in mob situations until asked to to so by the states. But his duty to demand obedience of the law, it said, and to condemn the violators remains:

"His failure to do so and his meaningless talk about 'extremists on both sides' give the impression that the children who are trying to exercise their constitutional right to attend school and the hoodlums who are preventing them from doing so are equally blameworthy . . . He cannot be neutral."

FOR WHOM THE BELL TOLLS

2 Kentucky towns bar Negro students; NAACP fights Clay and Sturgis moves

WHITE PARENTS of the Kentucky towns of Clay and Sturgis last week celebrated their first satisfying "victory" in efforts to prevent school integration. N.Y. **Herald Tribune** reporter Francis Sugrue wrote from Clay (9/17):

"The bell that rang from the top of the public school . . . this morning sounded only for white children, because two Negro parents and their four children were stopped at the school door for a little ceremony dedicated to the purpose of telling Negro children that they would no longer be welcome in the schools in Clay."

At the ceremony school principal Irene Powell read a letter from Webster County school supt. Wilbur H. Collins to Mrs. Louise Gordon and little James and Theresa Gordon and to Mrs. Catherine Copeland and her son Bobby Carl. The letter told the children that they were not welcome.

The letter was based on Kentucky Atty. Gen. Ferguson's opinion that the Negro children were illegally attending the Clay school because the school board had not acted on the question of integration. The board, following the "moderate" approach widely advocated in the South and approved by both Presidential candidates, indicated that it did not intend to act.

At Sturgis eight Negro students who had been attending the high school there without any incident were stopped at the door by the principal and told to transfer to the all-Negro school in Morganfield, 11 miles away.

The Union County school board had followed the pattern set by Webster County. The NAACP said the Sturgis situation was different from Clay's because in Sturgis the students had actually been enrolled. It said it would seek injunctions. The NAACP will file a suit in Federal Dist. Court for the Clay Negro children.

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THE WEST IS ON NOTICE: THE OLD ORDER IS CHANGING

The basic issues at Suez: Oil, empire and coexistence

By Kumar Goshal

THE REAL ISSUES involved in the Suez crisis have been buried under a barrage of special-pleading, propaganda, double-talk and oversimplified assertions.

Anglo-French statements imply that the Suez Canal has been under international control since the 1888 Convention, until Nasser violated the Convention by taking over control; that an international artery like Suez should not be under one-power control, especially under the mercy of such an arbitrary power as the Nasser government; that the nationalization of the canal company 12 years before it was to revert to Egypt was evidence of Nasser's arbitrariness; and that Egyptian physical control of the canal made Nasser a greater menace and jeopardized the flow of oil essential to W. European—particularly British—industry.

THE DOUBLE-TALK: Throughout the Suez crisis Washington seemed to be speaking out of both sides of its mouth. Secy. of State Dulles was reported to be the author of the international control plan submitted by Australian Prime Minister Menzies practically as an ultimatum to Nasser. Sources close to Dulles said he never intended the proposals to be a "final offer" and never really expected the Egyptian President to accept them (**NYT, 9/10**). Yet, instead of modifying the proposals after Nasser turned them down, Dulles pulled out of his sleeve the present and even more provocative "users' association" plan.

Washington also seemed uncertain about the use of force against Nasser. President Eisenhower at his Sept. 11 press conference ruled out the use of force to resolve the Suez crisis; at the same time he foresaw U.S. approval of Anglo-French use of force if peaceful efforts failed and if Egypt committed "some kind of aggression." While Dulles said the "U.S. won't shoot its way into Suez," columnist Drew Pearson reported (9/13): "Uncle Sam is quietly strengthening its military muscle in the Middle East—in case Secy. of State Dulles' peace efforts should collapse." By and large it was obvious that the U.S. also considered Nasser a menace and would not mind seeing him toppled.

THE CONVENTION: The Suez Canal, in fact, was under British control and was made to serve British aims for over 70 years. In 1882 Britain violated the neutrality of Suez by bringing warships into the canal to conquer Egypt. In both World Wars the Allies blockaded the canal in contravention of the 1888 Convention.

Egyptian sovereignty over and ultimate control of the canal was recognized in the Convention itself: in case of a threat to "the security or the free passage of the canal," Article VIII empowered not the Suez Canal Co. nor any international authority but the Egyptian government to "take proper steps to insure the protection and the free use of the Canal." In 1968, at the expiration of the 99-year lease, not only the assets of the company but the actual running of the canal was to revert to Egypt.

THE HEART OF THE MATTER: THE SUEZ CANAL
A giant floating dock bound from India to Malta goes through

Nasser did not violate the Convention by taking over physical control of the canal. In reality, his soldiers had taken complete physical control of the canal as the last of the British troops left Suez under the 1954 Anglo-Egyptian treaty. The Suez Canal being within Egyptian territory, the Cairo government has always had the power to interfere with canal traffic if that suited the government's purpose. In 1948, Egypt did violate the Convention by starting to blockade and harass Israel-bound ships.

CHANGE OF HEART: The Western powers have admitted that Egypt was within its rights as a sovereign country to nationalize the Suez Canal Co. 12 years earlier than when the company's lease expired. And London itself felt differently two years ago about the menace of Egypt's physical control of the canal.

On July 29, 1954, the then British Foreign Secy. Antony Head, supported by Foreign Secy. Anthony Eden, successfully pleaded for Parliament's approval of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty providing for complete British evacuation of Suez by June, 1956. Head argued that the Suez Canal would be useless for any purpose if Egypt were hostile. Eden pointed out that since the treaty negotiations, the canal's traffic had actually increased.

Traffic has been moving as smoothly as it did when the canal was under Egypt's physical control but before the canal company was nationalized. What then has changed to make Nasser a greater menace to W. Europe's economic security?

THE WORRIES: It is no secret that the Western powers, who originally promoted Nasser, began distrusting him as he veered toward neutrality, gave asylum to N. African political refugees and established economic relations with the socialist countries. The increase in Nasser's stature and influence after he attended the Bandung conference added to the West's worry, which reached its peak when Egypt gave diplomatic recognition to China.

The West then decided to "cut Nasser down to size," by rudely withdrawing financial aid to build the Aswan Dam. When Nasser retaliated by advancing the date of nationalizing the Suez Canal Co., Washington, London and Paris decided that extreme measures were necessary.

Washington is concerned about Nasser's growing prestige and how the nationalization of Suez will affect the future of U.S. Middle Eastern oil investments; London about its rapidly declining imperial power; and Paris about its N. African possessions so precariously held. And all of them worry about the increasing recognition in Asia and Africa that normal relationships can be fruitfully established with Moscow and Peking.

OIL & EMPIRE: The basic issues, therefore, are oil, empire and widespread acceptance of the idea of coexistence. Obviously, any lasting resolution of these issues will require the elimination of such foreign investments as oil in the Middle East, which "is closely linked with political power" (**NYT, 8/5**); freedom for all remaining colonial countries; diplomatic recognition of all socialist countries and East-West cooperation through the UN for the improvement of the underdeveloped countries. Since, equally obviously, this is a long-range ideal, various interim proposals have been made by men of good will.

Admitting that his is a radical solution, John Kimche proposed (**The Nation, 8/25**) the immediate "nationalization not only of the Suez Canal but also of all the Middle East oilfields under the aegis of a UN Middle Eastern authority which would ensure the free flow of oil and shipping, which would respect all the decencies of sovereignties of the states concerned and which would ensure that the profits derived from the oil trading and from canal dues shall be devoted to those social priorities which need them most in the countries concerned, starting with the Aswan Dam."

OTHER SOLUTIONS: Some UN observers were reported (**N.Y. Post, 9/9**) favoring demilitarization of the Baghdad Pact, an international public corporation representing oil-producing and oil-consuming nations, which would also undertake Middle Eastern developments from oil profits; internationalization of the Suez and other waterways such as the Panama Canal and the Dardanelles; an overall Palestine settlement.

British Labour M.P. R. H. S. Crossman recommended (**London New Statesman & Nation, 9/8**) withdrawal of British forces from the Middle East and of the subsidy to the Arab Legion; "a UN settlement guaranteeing the frontiers of a neutral Israel"; conceding the Arab's right to nationalize oil to be marketed and distributed by the West; solving the Suez issue through a Menzies-Nehru compromise formula. For the immediate future, the AFL-CIO in the U.S. also recommended a middle course between the Menzies and the Nehru proposals.

ON NOTICE: This is the immediate crucial question: Is the real aim of the West to ensure unhampered flow of traffic through the Suez or to overthrow Nasser and crush any potential threat to oil investments and Western dominance in the Middle East? The first can be accomplished by negotiations, perhaps through the Nehru plan and unqualified economic aid to Egypt in return for Nasser's guarantee of free passage of ships through the canal, including ships bound for Israel; the second in today's world can at best be temporarily successful.

"We are on notice," columnist Walter Lippmann cautioned (**NYHT, 9/13**), "that in the Middle East the old order is changing and that we must get ready for it, that we cannot afford to be as unprepared for other changes as we were unprepared for Suez."

LEVINES MOURNED

5 Chicagoans killed at train crossing

WORD has been received of the shocking death on Aug. 19 of two staunch Chicago friends of the GUARDIAN and progressive causes, along with two of their children and the child of friends.

Mollie and Peter Levine, 6712 Newgard, Chicago, were returning home in their car from the YMCA camp at Forest Beach. With them were their children Norman, 14, and Paula, 19, and David Strinel, 12, son of Sam and Fannie Strinel, 1132 Lunt, Chicago. Their car was struck by a Michigan Central train at an unguarded dirt crossing at New Buffalo, Ind. All were killed instantly.

The train was reported to be traveling between 70 and 80 m.p.h. The crossing was completely screened by shrubs; no warning was sounded by the train.

The only surviving member of the Levine family is Vicky, 13. The Strinels have another son, Paul, 7. David Strinel had just recovered from a serious bout with rheumatic fever. His family asks that anyone interested send a contribution to the Rheumatic Fever Heart Assn.

PAMPHLET OUT

Lawyer in warning on Shibley case

MORE THAN 300 supporters of George E. Shibley, the civilian labor attorney now facing a three-year sentence as a result of his defense of an enlisted Marine (GUARDIAN, Sept. 3), attended a fund raising party in Los Angeles on Sept. 16.

Attorney Charles R. Gary of San Francisco warned the group that "when and if the doors of the penitentiary clang shut on George Shibley, they also clang shut on your civil rights.

"The long arm of the military must be curbed to keep it within the bounds of its designed obligations and not allowed to interfere in civil matters."

Don Murray, master of ceremonies of the meeting, pointed out that at least 100,000 additional copies of the Shibley Defense Committee's brochure, "The Bar and the Brass," must be sent to progressive thinking people everywhere in the United States to create the necessary public opinion to focus attention on the Shibley case before U.S. Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell.

Copies of the pamphlet may be obtained at 10c a copy from the Shibley Defense Committee, Box 748, Long Beach 2, Calif.

The Suez story

(Continued from Page 1)

which received only a small fraction of canal tolls.

By the time the conference opened, it was evident that the original plan would have to be drastically modified. Pakistan was flatly opposed; Iran preferred taking the issue to the UN; Japan wanted to know how governments could persuade private shippers to take the long Cape route as long as the cheaper route remained open; Italy, the Scandinavian countries, Ethiopia, W. Germany and Spain shied away from suicidal economic warfare; and all but the Big Three urged recourse to the UN. At the cost of Eden's bitter disappointment and French Premier Guy Mollet's angry denunciation, Dulles had to pull all the teeth out of his original plan.

THE WEST LOST: The association's functions remained vague. It could hold in trust any tolls members might pay; deal with problems if canal traffic "were to diminish or cease," and "facilitate any steps which may lead to a final or provisional solution" of the Suez problem. Britain and the U.S. joined SCUA immediately. France joined a day later, reserving the right to act on her own if necessary. The rest of the 18 nations decided to consult their governments first. Those who joined would meet in London Oct. 1 to set up SCUA's organizational structure.

Dulles, on his return home, said that the conference had "registered solid gains." But experienced diplomats in Washington disagreed. Conceding that the conference "had deterred Britain and France from war against Egypt," these diplomats considered the "West as the big Suez loser" (N.Y. Times, 9/23).

In London, Eden's prestige sank to a new low as the Conservative party's annual conference Oct. 11 drew near. He faced the prospect of sharp attacks from diehard Tories who had coined the slogan: "Either Nasser or Eden must go." With the publication of conference results, public pressure in Britain for immediate recourse to the UN grew formidably.

COMPROMISERS AT WORK: Eden, desperately trying to keep the ball in play, persuaded Mollet to join him in asking the UN Security Council to meet Oct. 26 to consider the "situation created by the unilateral action of the Egyptian government in bringing to an end the system of international operation of the Suez Canal." Dulles, who had been against taking the issue to the UN, was obliged to give his reluctant approval.

On the eve of the UN meeting, there were dim but hopeful signs of behind-the-scenes efforts to settle the issue peacefully through compromise on both sides. Indian diplomat Krishna Menon, after conferring with Nasser for several days, flew to London to consult Eden. King Saud of Saudi Arabia, unwilling to lose fabulous oil royalties but uncertain of being able to restrain public demand for support of Nasser in case of war, was reported trying to persuade Nasser to make some concessions.

NEHRU IS CRITICAL: Nasser went to Saudi Arabia to consult its ruler and Syrian president Shukry al Kuwatly. Two days later, Indian Premier Nehru left for Saudi Arabia. Before he left, Nehru criticized Nasser's precipitate manner of nationalizing the canal company, but warned the West against the use of force and called for a negotiated settlement.

In any UN discussion involving free traffic through the canal, Egypt's discrimination against Israel-bound ships would certainly figure importantly. Israel has already notified the Council that it had been obliged to recall the cement-laden Greek freighter Panagia after the ship was held up at Suez for three months, and charged that Egypt had incorporated into its navy the Israeli ship Bat Galim which it seized in 1954.

Meanwhile, letters coming out of Egypt last week carried the franking mark: FREEDOM OF PASSAGE GUARANTEED THROUGH SUEZ CANAL.

THE COMPANY, THE SOCIALISTS AND ALGERIA

France's 3-horned dilemma on Suez

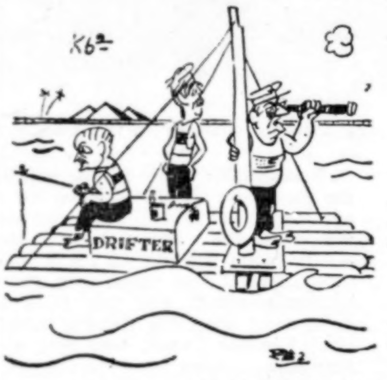
By Anne Bauer
Special to the Guardian

PARIS

ONE DAY early last month, when the Suez crisis was at its height, the progressive Paris daily **Liberation** received the kind of letter generally welcome to any newspaper: it contained a check for 100,000 francs. The check was made out by the Compagnie Universelle du Canal de Suez. **Liberation** returned it promptly and published a photostat next morning.

The following day, most other Paris newspapers said they had received a similar check and had returned it too; the Communist daily, **Humanite,** had been left out of this show of generosity. The Suez Canal Co. was busy for several days afterwards issuing embarrassed statements on how the checks had only been meant to cover insertion cost of the company's yearly financial report.

Liberation and **Humanite** are still the only French papers to attack the Mollet government's stand on Suez, in principle as well as in method. The rest of the French press is practically unanimous in backing up—if not speeding—the dangerous enterprise that has brought this country almost to the brink of war. The Chamber, too, has fallen in line; it has made no move to meet in special session, and if it is invited to express itself when it reconvenes this month, Communists and Progressives and a few others will be alone in voting against the government.



Canard Enchaine, Paris

This contrasts sharply with the strength of dissenting opinion in other Western countries—a fact worth considering, now that the danger of war seems, at least for the moment, averted.

Why this near-unanimity in France in favor of a politically absurd, legally indefensible, economically ruinous enterprise? The answer is in three names: (1) the Suez Canal Co.; (2) the French Socialist Party; (3) Algeria.

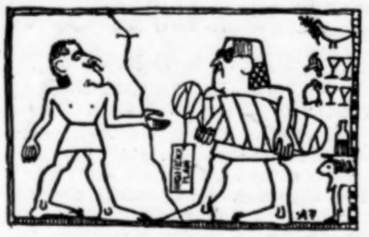
THE COMPANY: The Universal Suez Canal Co. (16.2 billion francs gross profits in 1955, of which 9 billion went to its stockholders, 4 billion to Egypt) is not as universal as its name indicates. The biggest financial interest in it is French and English. The Company is one of the mightiest capitalist enterprises of our time. Its ramifications, via at least one big Paris bank and numbers of other financial arteries, are far-reaching. They can go a long way toward making friends and winning influence in many fields of activity in France.

Balzac and Maupassant demonstrated simply in their day how money, with the help of the press, could launch or lose governments, empires and wars. Similar operations to-day are 100 times more subtle. Ways and means have changed since Balzac, but basic facts of capitalism have not.

THE SOCIALISTS: The French Socialists are today alone among all Western Socialist parties defending an international monopoly enterprise to the point of war. The fact that the Socialists are in government in France, in the opposition in England, can hardly be considered an extenuating circumstance. The Mollet government's Suez adventure has little to recommend it to the Socialist rank and file. Even at the top, at least one left-wing Socialist deputy (the same left wing that asked for an end to the Algerian war at the SP Congress this summer) has openly condemned his party's policy.

That policy does not come as a surprise to any one who recalls the French SP's record of acquiescence over the last twenty years:

- "Non-intervention" in the Spanish Civil War.
- The Munich settlement in 1938.
- German rearmament from 1952 on, perpetuating cold war tension over the division of Germany, and furnishing a key to French politics as a whole.



Francois in Tribune des Nations, Paris

"Anything else to embalm, Foster?"

The Socialist press contributes its share toward clouding the real issues at Suez and confusing public opinion—already busy worrying about Algeria.

To justify their defense of a big capitalist monopoly in terms of Socialist doctrine, French Socialist leaders, deploring the "political perversion" of their British Labour comrades, have elaborated an astounding new theory expounded daily in their press. It claims, in essence, that all nationalizations are reactionary, backward moves, all internationalizations progressive steps forward on the road to socialism.

THE PACIFICATION: Algeria is in the minds of many people when they say Egypt. To those who still believe, after eight months of failure, that military action can solve the Algerian problem and quell the growing revolt there, Egypt is nothing less than a precedent. If Nasser can be forced to surrender, they argue, the Algerian war is more than half won—by the sheer weight of prestige and power.

They forget that, except for the glowing government bulletins out of Algiers, no serious observer even pretends that any progress has been made toward peace and reconciliation there. They also forget that drastic Western action against Egypt to regain control of the Suez Canal would become so formidable a symbol of colonial oppression that it would threaten to throw all of North Africa into a long and bloody guerrilla action.

The Algerians, like the Egyptians at this point, have nothing to lose but their chains.

DR. DuBOIS WAS A GUIDE

Freedom rings on Africa Gold Coast to greet the state of Ghana March 6

Special to the Guardian

LONDON

BLACK LEGISLATORS in the Assembly at Accra danced, threw papers in the air and yelled "Free-DOM!" as word came from London Sept. 19 that their country, the Gold Coast, would become the independent nation of Ghana on March 6, 1957. Theirs was to be the first piece of British imperialist-divided Africa to move from colonial to free status.

The legislators' unparliamentary behavior celebrated the triumph of years of patient effort and organization by Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah, an Accran of peasant descent, leader of the Convention People's Party which has a radical socialist program strongly influenced by Nehru. Nkrumah and many of the party leaders were in jail when, in 1951, they received a sweeping electoral majority under a constitution granting partial self-government to the colony.

Last July in a new election demanded by London, after prolonged British maneuvers to change the picture by building up reactionary tribalist elements, voters again returned the CPP with a majority of over two-thirds. Britain had promised to grant independence "within the Commonwealth" if such a majority were obtained.

THEIR OWN ARMY: Independence for Ghana means that the new state is ready to take over the last two responsibilities retained by Britain, defense and foreign affairs. The Assembly has already voted a £3½ million budget for Ghana's own army, which will temporarily retain some higher British officers, and £1 million for its first diplomatic missions which will probably be established next year in Washington, London, Paris, New Delhi and neighboring Monrovia (Liberia).

Meanwhile top priority is being given by CPP planners to reorganization of their country's economy, now 80% based on cocoa production. Plans are in the works for greater self-sufficiency in food, building up secondary industries and development of the country's potentially greatest source of wealth, its bauxite (aluminum). Britain, vitally interested in shifting its bauxite purchases to the sterling from the dollar (Canada) area, offered a large loan for the great Volta River "TVA" project which Ghana needs for its development. Nkrumah, however, is expected after independence to invite world bids for loans and trade in an effort to avoid domination of the economy by one power.

DuBOIS' GUIDANCE: Across the Atlantic the triumph of Sept. 19 was quietly shared by a man to whom Nkrumah and his colleagues recognize their deep indebtedness for guidance and inspiration—the American who organized the five Pan-African congresses held since World War I to proclaim the right of Africans to govern themselves. Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, "father of the Pan-African movement", was 77 at the time of the 5th congress at Manchester, where he was chairman and young Nkrumah gave the main report. There, the principles which have guided Nkrumah were set forth in some detail.

Free Ghana will be born shortly after Dr. DuBois' 89th birthday. In Accra the Pan-African movement will have at least a permanent headquarters, and a sixth congress—the first on African soil—is likely to be held there later in 1957.

THE TUC CONFERENCE

British unions declare war on Tories; socialism the key

By Cedric Belfrage

BRIGHTON, ENGLAND

THE 88th TRADES UNION Congress which met in this "summer resort's" rain-swept, pseudo-oriental auditorium known as The Dome, discussed three big issues—the Suez crisis, wages, and East-West union relations. Most of the time militants had the floor. The TUC's General Council, a fossilized body among whom the Queen judiciously distributes knighthoods from year to year, was on the defensive, fighting rearguard actions which were successful only on the third major item.

Painfully aware of rank-and-file stirrings, the Council was compelled to adopt a strategy of backing moderately tough resolutions on Suez and wages to head off even tougher ones..

It was left to spokesmen of the Miners and Woodworkers (whose vote not long ago swung the balance for TUC approval of German rearmament) to stress the growing gravity of the situation. The 800,000-strong Engineers insisted: "We stand for nationalization by this country or any other country." The Tobacco Workers opposed "**any** solution by force." The Assn. of Supervisory Staffs, Executives & Technicians, recalling Tory efforts to sabotage the League of Nations over Spain, said: "We're not prepared to let our youth die again for private profit." The Electrical Trades Union said: "We think the people's feeling could be put much more bluntly: 'No War Over Suez'."

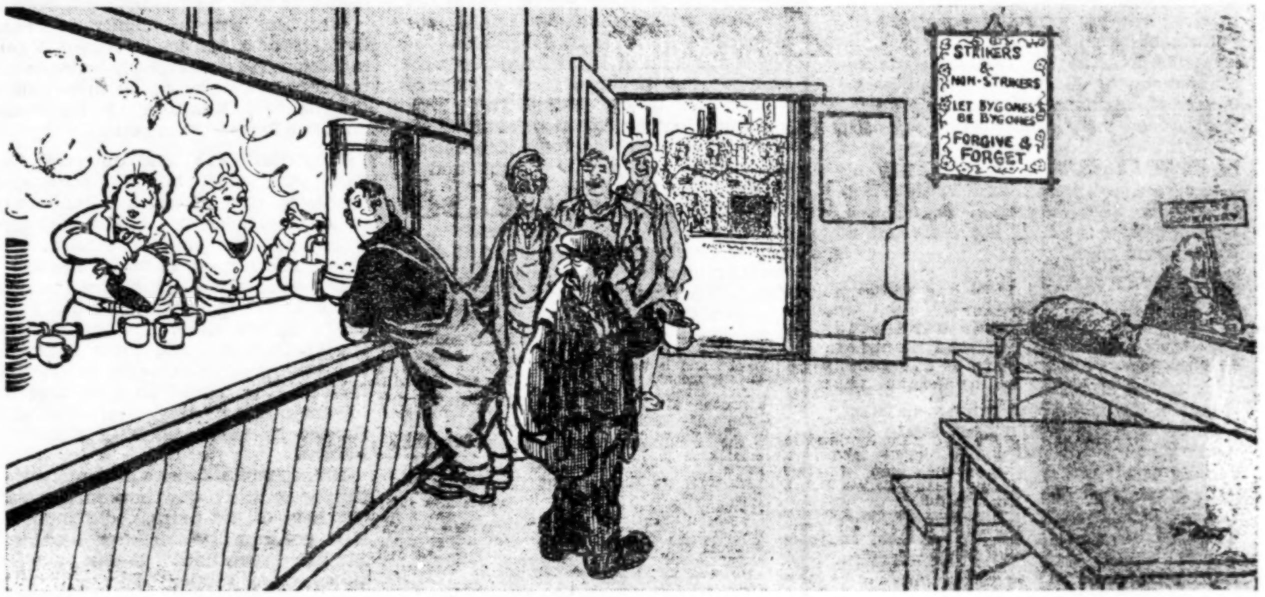
THE HONEYMOON IS OVER: The really significant evidence of a changed TUC climate came in the discussion on wages. Everyone knew the honeymoon with the dividend patriots was over when Frank Cousins, successor to the late piecard Deakin as gen. secy. of the Transport & General Workers, moved a strong wage-raise resolution. With nearly 1,300,000 members (and votes), the T&GWU is one of the big three unions which for years have virtually assured passage of anything sponsored by the General Council. Cousins is the first big union leader to understand and respond to rank-and-file anger over the inflation in which prices still soar ahead of wages.

As the London **Times** said on the first day of Congress, the Council had "serious misgivings" about the resolution: "some might like" to oppose it, but they did not dare "because they know they would be overwhelmingly defeated" due to Cousins's stand. Militancy was the keynote of one union spokesman after another—the Vehicle Builders, the Chemical Workers, the Construction Engineers, the Bakers, the Boilermakers, the Foundry Workers, the Railwaymen, the Furniture Trade Operatives, whose spokesman said:

"We are facing the fundamental contradiction of our society—social production and private ownership."

A NEW MILITANCY: The resolution was approved with a roar of "Ayes." As the Railwaymen's Arthur Horner had said, it was "not a debate but a demonstration." The exhilaration was tempered by realization that the great "to be or not to be" in the house of labor was still ahead. The new militancy recalled that of the British movement before the general strike of 1926. The question remained whether the leadership was ready to take power with the only possible alternative policy, for which their mandate had been re-affirmed: socialism.

The outcome of the smaller unions' annual attempt to lift the curtain between Western and Eastern unions showed that Cousins—had he not chosen to play it safe after his triumph on wages—could have swung the balance this year. A Woodworkers' resolution to "make an approach" to Soviet trade unions won 3,412,000 votes, with 4,638,000 against. The Musicians Union, pointing to the flood of East-West tourists in both directions and on all levels, said it intended to send a delegation to the U.S.S.R. "whatever the General Council's attitude."



Giles in Daily Express, London

"Giving me a cup with no handle, and saying 'I hope it chokes you, you blacklegging scab,' ain't forgiving and forgetting, Miss."

ONE BANNER: Other unions pointed to the danger for all of divided world labor and supported efforts toward "140 million workers of the world under one banner—a voice no government could ignore." The T&GWU was silent and the red-baiting operation was performed by a delegate of the huge General & Municipal Workers Union, who said a "remarkable number" of speakers had stressed their membership in the Labour Party; he warned against those who had "managed to get into" that party "without being found out."

He added that he had recently visited Yugoslavia with former Labour Party chairman Edith Summerskill (a voice: "Were you found out?"). He was horrified by the way "communist countries" fixed wage levels—"they just take what's needed for defense, taxes and investment and divide the rest among the workers." (Voices: "What's wrong with that?" "Well, they don't take anything for profit.") TUC gen. secy. Sir Vincent Tewson said for the Council: "We can't temporize with those who want to destroy our democratic institutions. We can't be too careful."

VISITORS FROM AMERICA: This was one of the few notes struck in the Congress which recalled the basis for British labor's "traditional and unbreakable friendship" (Tewson) with the AFL-CIO. Otherwise, the speeches by fraternal AFL-CIO piecards sounded like something from another world.

The U.S. textile workers' Emil Rieve suggested that what brought the AFL and CIO together was "the great common cause" of forming the Intl. Confedn. of Free Trade Unions after the World Fedn. of Trade Unions "was captured by the enemies of freedom."

AFL-CIO secy.-treas. Schnitzler quoted Lincoln on love of liberty and asked delegates to "ponder the Supreme Court decision for desegregation of our schools"; lauded the Berlin and Poznan demonstrators; and called on all "of the free world" to aid and encourage those "fighting for freedom under conditions of oppression and captivity," to boost NATO and SEATO, to have the UN "hold free elections" in China, and to cut trade with the U.S.S.R.

Schnitzler's totally humorless speech, read in sledgehammer style, made a large and noisy number of delegates conscious of the need for a nice cup of tea in the "buffet." When he finished, the chairman gave him a large dish, part of a 100-piece set of Wedgwood.

Someone ought to have crowned him with it and reminded the Congress that U.S. organized labor isn't quite as bad as all that.

The Security Act

(Continued from Page 1)

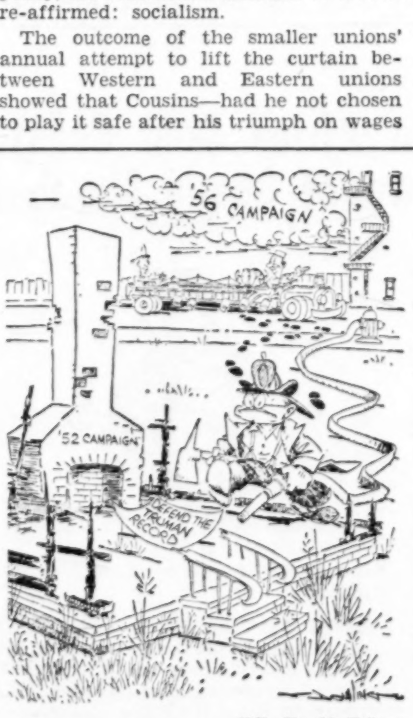
firmly convinced that legislation which imposes disabilities on a harmless group is bad and should be repealed."

THE TERRIBLE THREAT: The Pension Union in a statement prepared before it became aware of Cain's personal views made the same point:

"Our position in this case is that the issue is not Mr. Cain, the Pension Union, or the partisan question of domination; the issue is the right of the American people to decide by ballots the worth of ANY program, ANY political philosophy, that any group of them decide is necessary for their well-being, and their constitutional right to form, join and be active in organizations dedicated to such ends. Mr. Cain has found that the Pension Union is such an organization. His decision, therefore, to force the Pension Union to brand itself as something it is not and thereby become publicly ostracized should further alert the country to the terrible threat the McCarran Act is to our democratic way of life."

The Pension Union has announced that it will take its case to court "to the best of its limited ability."

CP CHALLENGE: The SACB was challenged on another front on Sept. 18 when the Communist Party argued that it should reverse its 1953 finding that the CP is a "communist action" organization dominated by a foreign power and must register as such with the Attorney General. Last April 30 the Supreme Court sent the case back to the board with instructions either to confirm testimony of three government witnesses challenged as "tainted" or expunge it from the record and reconsider its finding. The board chose to delete the testimony of Manning Johnson, the late Paul Crouch and Harvey Matusow. (Matusow was on trial in New York last week on six counts of perjury arising from his repudiation of testimony he gave in a New York Smith Act trial).



N.Y. Herald Tribune

No, no, Harry, it's over there.

CP attorneys argued that without the deleted testimony the government's case against the party collapses, but the Justice Dept. contends that the SACB ruling should stand on the basis of other evidence.

MONMOUTH AFTERMATH: The Federal employees security program was also under renewed attack last week with eight suits filed in U. S. District Court in Washington by civilian workers ousted as security risks from the Army Signal Corps laboratories at Fort Monmouth, N. J., during Joe McCarthy's heyday in 1953-54. The eight cite in detail the unfairness of the proceedings against them and ask that their records be cleared, that they be reinstated with back pay and that a finding be made that the Secy. of the Army acted "contrary to law." Of some 35 suspensions during McCarthy's charges of espionage and subversion, all but the eight have since been cleared.

Adlai Stevenson attacked the Eisenhower-Brownell security-loyalty set-up in a speech at Walnut Hill, Va., on Sept. 15. He said the administration plays "fast and loose" with the Bill of Rights and accused it of conducting "guerrilla warfare" against government employes. He pledged to revise the program to "safeguard the State without degrading those who serve it" and said he will oppose any Congressional attempt to "override" a recent Supreme Court decision which restricts application of the program to "sensitive" jobs only.

How grandmotherly can you get?

GRANDMOTHERLY Mrs. Lowell F. Hobart of Cincinnati, first president of the American Legion Auxiliary 36 years ago, calmly advocated bomb extermination for home-grown Communists in her talk to Legion women yesterday.

"We'll push them out and push them out," Mother Hobart said, "until we have them all in Russia. Then we'll have a circle of good bombers and every weapon we can find, and that will take care of them."

—Los Angeles **Mirror-News**, 9/4

BOOKS

The lady sings of hunger and love

ONE MARVELS that after a devastating air raid people not only survive but pick up the pieces of their lives, fit them together, laugh and love. The most scorching blitz was nothing comparable to the raw, hungry, defrauded, humiliating childhood of Billie Holiday. That she should live is remarkable. That she should sing softly and love people, laugh gaily and dream of children is a miracle.

Like the wartime miracles it goes almost unnoticed because the persistence of life amid the ruins is a commonplace. Many millions grow up—in Baltimore slums or in worse surroundings—endure, fight and pluck from the rawest of raw materials enough to make a life of quiet heroism. Billie Holiday's life had its own brand of heroism but it was never quiet. It is now set down in a raucous American story* by herself with the assistance of William Dufty.

IT IS TOLD simply as if she unreeled her life onto a recording tape; it has the musical idiom of Negro talk and the ring of a Negro woman's rebellion.

This is a book about resistance to jimcrow, a resistance not generally organized or tactically well prepared perhaps, but always stubborn. This resistance heroine has been a prostitute and a narcotics addict and she has served prison terms for both. She is also an American artist.

Billie's great-grandmother was a plantation slave; her great-grandfather, a plantation owner. She chronicles her own birth this way: "Mom and Pop were just a couple of kids when they got married. He was 18, she was 16 and I was three." She heard her first record on a victrola in a Baltimore whorehouse where she worked as an errand girl. She admonishes those who are shocked at such a setting for a child waking up to music: "A whorehouse was about the only place where black and white folks could meet in any natural way. They damn well couldn't rub elbows in the churches."

Lady Sings the Blues
With William Dufty

BILLIE HOLIDAY
A song she can feel . . .

AT TEN HER MOTHER had to rescue her from rape. For being so victimized she was committed to a Catholic institution where, she recalls, she was once punished for an infraction of the rules by being made to spend the night in a locked room with a dead body. She has never forgotten how she beat her fists bloody pounding on the door all night.

When Billie's mother brought her North she entrusted her to a kindly woman who, much to Billie's mother's surprise, turned out to be a prosperous madam and Billie was launched on a career. She landed in jail not for practicing that trade but for denying her services to a Harlem boss.

In Harlem during the depression "the world we lived in was still one that white people made. But it had become a world they dam near never saw. . . When they did they might as well have dropped in from another planet." In that world Billie learned that she could be paid for singing. She had no training but she had been singing. listening and loving music ever since Baltimore. Her attitude toward her art was: "Give me a song I can feel, and it's never work . . . If I had to sing 'Doggie in the Window,' that would actually be work."

BILLIE HOLIDAY'S success story had one inescapable moral: a Negro can't stop being a Negro with a Negro's battles, no matter how loud the applause and how raving the notices. When she toured with Artie Shaw, she—along with Shaw and the band—fought jimcrow in the hotels and cafes of the South, Detroit, Boston, New York, Los Angeles. "It got to the point where I hardly ever ate, slept or went to the bathroom without having a major NAACP-type production."

What she sang often mirrored her life. "Strange Fruit" and "Gloomy Sunday" were songs into which she threw herself because to her they told the story of how her father died in Dallas when no hospital would take him in. She still sings it "not only because people ask for it but because 20 years after Pop died the things that killed him are still happening in the South."

BILLIE HAD SMOKED reefers since she began singing in night clubs but only when she checked in at a sanatorium to cure herself did the police crack down. It took a triumphant tour in England to teach her how a civilized society can treat an ailment instead of prosecuting it. Billie says she knows she's "kicked" the habit because when she was "high" she could look at television for hours at a time and now she can't stand it.

When we are really civilized and "kick" our habits of jimcrow and penal barbarism, we may come to value Billie Holiday as an American woman made out of raw America. Until then, while we hound her and perhaps toss her again into jail, America can at least listen to itself in Billie Holiday's songs. As she says, ". . . nobody sings the word 'hunger' like I do. Or the word 'love' ".

—Elmer Bendiner

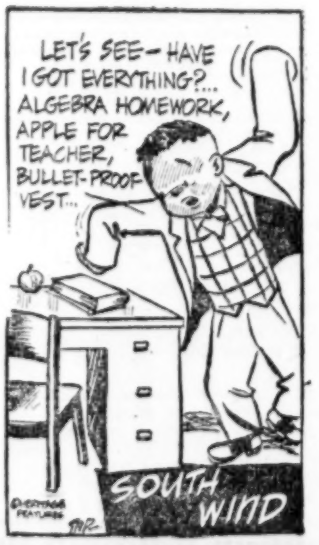
* *LADY SINGS THE BLUES, by Billie Holiday with William Dufty, Doubleday, 250 pp., $3.75.*

THERE WAS A WHALE OF A PROTEST

The case of the fired Gloucester school teacher

GLOUCESTER, MASS.

TENNESSEE and Kentucky have been providing the nation with headlines on Negroes and public education, but this New England fishing center has come to prominence in a situation that has captured the attention of Massachusetts, the birthplace of the abolitionist movement.


LET'S SEE—HAVE I GOT EVERYTHING?... ALGEBRA HOMEWORK, APPLE FOR TEACHER, BULLET-PROOF VEST...
SOUTH WIND

Amsterdam News, N.Y.

Public opinion in this city of 27,000 persons has reacted vigorously against a superintendent of schools who hired a teacher from Oregon and then arranged to break the contract when he discovered that his employe was a Negro.

As the news became public, Manuel F. Lewis, business agent for the Seafood Workers Union and a member of the City Council, called for an investigation of the hiring and release of the teacher.

$1,000 PAYMENT: Warren G. McClure, a specialist in instruction of retarded children, was hired by L. Munro Grandy, the Gloucester superintendent. He drove from his home in Eugene, Ore., only to meet with a proposal from Grandy that the contract be canceled with a payment of $1,000. This was done.

Grandy apparently acted with the support of the local school board. But he did not reckon on the storm of protest that broke once his action became public. This town has no Negro students, but Councilman and ex-Mayor John Burke, backing Lewis, said: "This is an insult."

Grandy maintained that McClure's being a Negro had nothing to do with the contract cancelation. He was given the lie by McClure who declared back on the west coast:

"IMMORAL" ACTION: "I had been led to believe there was no segregation in Massachusetts. I found out otherwise. Grandy asked to be relieved of the contract. The only thing that he was willing to offer me was transportation back to the west coast."

Church leaders were rallying behind Lewis' demand for an investigation. The Jewish community, gathered at the local temple for the holy days, heard the rabbi denounce the treatment of McClure as "immoral."

Not a member of the local school board has made a statement of his position since the story became public. This is probably because they share Grandy's views and were stunned at the community's condemnation. One member of the school board, Dr. Harry Curtis, former resident of New Orleans, attempted last spring to prevent Count Basie's orchestra from playing at the local high school.

ADVERTISEMENT

HOW LONG WILL THE SMITH ACT GO ON?

Just as long as the American people allow it!

WILLIAM NORMAN

Last week in Foley Square, for the third time in New York, 6 Smith Act defendants were given jail sentences of 1 to 5 years for "conspiring to teach and advocate the overthrow of the government."

William Norman, 55, was sentenced to 5 years; Fred M. Fine, 42, to 4 years; Sidney Stein, 42, to 3 years; James E. Jackson, 41, to 2 years; George B. Charney, 52, to 2 years and Alexander Trachtenberg, 71, to one year in prison. The 7th defendant, Mrs. Marion Bachrach, was freed by a directed verdict of the court on June 18th after the government concluded its case.

FRED M. FINE

Men and women are still going to jail for the 'crime' of thinking, writing, speaking and circulating books!

In 1951, at the height of the war hysteria, Supreme Court Justice Black said about the Smith Act:

> **"No matter how it is worded, this is a virulent form of prior censorship of speech and press which I believe the First Amendment forbids."**

SIDNEY STEIN

Today with the new winds blowing in our country the Supreme Court has agreed to take a second look at the Smith Act. During the week of October 8th, it will hear arguments for review of 4 Smith Act cases. This is the time for the American people to make substantial efforts to remove the un-American Smith Act from the laws of the land.

The New York defendants will continue the fight. They will appeal these sentences to a higher court. But appeals are costly.

JAMES E. JACKSON

GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY

ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG

Will You Help?

Will you make the week of October 8th significant by making your contribution during that period to the fight against thought control?

JOINT SELF DEFENSE COMMITTEE
Room 810, 11 Park Place
New York 7, N. Y.

Enclosed find $............ toward the Appeal Fund of the New York Smith Act defendants.

(Make checks payable to Alexander Trachtenberg)

Name ....

Address ....

City ....

DRAFT RESOLUTION ISSUED

U. S. Communists self-critical but won't dissolve the party

COMMUNIST PARTY gen. secy. Eugene Dennis last week released a 23,000-word draft resolution of the organization's national committee. The party's legislative chairman Simon Gerson said the resolution will be debated for three months by party rank-and-filers and then submitted, with resulting amendments, for final approval to the 16th national convention in New York next Feb. 11-14.

Sharply self-critical, the resolution nevertheless expresses "deep pride" in the "staunchness with which the Communists met the wave of persecution against them." Substantial organizational losses and decline in political influence in many areas were attributed to the "critical situation" still confronting the party. The resolution outlined changed economic and political estimates as well as shifts in position on the war danger, relations toward Marxist parties and socialist countries, and certain "outmoded theoretical propositions."

TWO QUALIFICATIONS: Dennis said the document had been drafted after several weeks of hard work by the resolutions committee and two long meetings by the national committee. Except for two "qualifications", he said, the vote for it in the national committee was unanimous. The qualified votes were those of CP Chairman William Z. Foster and national committee member Benjamin J. Davis. Dennis said each member will make known his qualifications in published articles, probably in the **Daily Worker.**

Minor differences were resolved in committee debate, but major differences on the resolution as a whole or on sections of it will be taken to the party membership through articles in CP publications or in party meetings.

WON'T LIQUIDATE: The party's critical reexamination of itself was indicated in its declaration of intention to: (1) develop further its "independent theoretical work" while freeing itself of "deeply ingrained habits of dogmatism and doctrinairism", thus advancing in the U.S. the fight "for peace, democracy, civil rights and socialism"; (2) study thoroughly "the realities" of life in the U.S., the history and traditions of the people in general and of the working class in particular, along with the "special features" of U.S. capitalist economy and "bourgeois democracy"; (3) distinguish between Lenin's additions to Marxist theory "valid for all countries" and such specific aspects of his writings as reflect exclusively the unique features of the Russian revolution and Soviet society; (4) reexamine Marxist-Leninist theories which may have become outdated.

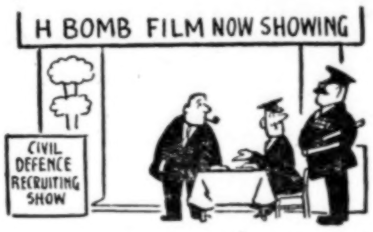
The resolution declares that there are no valid grounds for a "destructive attitude" toward the CP's past contribution and its future role or "justification for proposals to liquidate" the party. Immediate focus will be on the November elections "and their consequences."

CITES EARLIER ERRORS: The resolution says the CP recognizes and respects "the complete political and organizational independence" of working class and peoples' organizations, including trade unions, and pledges not to interfere in their internal affairs. It says the party will correct its earlier error of "indiscriminately supporting the establishment of left-led organizations" by recognizing the "new role" being played by established bodies in "the main currents."

It cited examples of labor and "popular forces" in dealing with reaction in the Democratic Party in Michigan, Louisiana and Texas. From such experiences in the states, it says, "the heightened consciousness" of the need of a new party will grow: "For the long run the working class and its allies will have to have their own anti-monopoly coalition party capable of bringing about the eventual election of a people's anti-monopoly government."

SEES REJUVENATION: Gerson said in answer to questions that U.S. Communist party membership stood at between 20,000 and 30,000, the majority in the East. There is no list, he said; the count was based on estimates by party leaders from various areas. The U.S. party has no members either in Hawaii or Alaska, "unless," Dennis said, "somebody is out in Hawaii on vacation." Changes in the national committee, if any, will be made by the convention. The present national committee was elected at the last convention in 1950.

Gerson was unable to say how many delegates would attend; did not know whether the convention would be open to the public. He said the party was finding it hard to get a hall. The convention, he said, would change the party constitution "if it desires." He expected some changes within the framework of the basic constitution adopted in 1938. Gerson conceded that the party probably had lost thousands but thought the changes would result in rejuvenation.



Drawing by Gabriel, London

"He doesn't want to join, he wants to know the address of the nearest Peace Committee."

CHICAGO

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IMPORTANT SYMPOSIUM

What Next for the American Left?

A. J. MUSTE
Secretary Emeritus, Fellowship of Reconciliation

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
Executive Sec'y, Communist Party of Illinois

BERT COCHRAN
Editor, AMERICAN SOCIALIST

HARVEY O'CONNOR
Author, "Mellon's Millions," "The Empire of Oil"

SYDNEY LENS
Author, Contributing Editor, DISSENT

Friday, Oct. 5, 8 P.M.

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Hugh Hardyman

NEW YORK

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Corliss Lamont
Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith
THURSDAY, OCT. 11, 6 P.M.
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Reservations: $6 per person
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Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.

Copy deadline Monday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified National Guardian, 197 East 4th Street, New York 9, N. Y.

CALENDAR

Boston, Mass.

You are cordially invited to attend Boston's First Guardian
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EATS FOLK MUSIC DANCING
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American Socialist Forum on **"THE SMITH ACT,"** Fri., Sept. 28th, 8 p.m., at Community Church Center, 565 Boylston St. Admission Free.

Chicago

PETE SEEGER "Songs of Friendship" Milda Hall, 3142 S. Halsted, Sat., Nov. 10., 8:15 p.m. Tickets 90c and $1:50. Call AN 3-1877.

Los Angeles

OCTOBER 5, 8:15 p.m. **THE CONFLICT OVER THE SUEZ CANAL;** speaker: **HILDEGARDE SMITH. SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FORUM,** 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Calif.

San Francisco

WHERE IS RUSSIA GOING?
Don't Miss
GENERAL VICTOR A. YAKHONTOFF
former Czarist general, authoritative writer and lecturer on Soviet Union. "The Secret of Soviet Strength." Fri., Oct. 5, 8 p.m. American Russian Institute, 90 McAllister St.

PETE SEEGER
Folksinger and king of the 5-string banjo, 8:30 p.m., Sat., Oct. 6, Scottish Rite Auditorium; only local concert on this tour. Tickets UN 3-3023.

Newark, N.J.

A rare treat for our community—The Sholem Aleichem Jewish Children's School takes deep pride in presenting **MORRIS CARNOVSKY** and **MARTHA SCHLAMME** Sat., Oct. 6th, 8:30 p.m., Temple AABC, 664 Chancellor Avenue, Irvington, N. J. Subscription: $1.50; Students: 75c.

New York

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Av.) **"THE BEACHCOMBER,"** Sept. 29. Charles Laughton and Elsa Lanchester in a Somerset Maugham tale laid in the South Pacific. Showings: Sat., 8:30 and 10 p.m. Adm: Members, $1; non-members, $1.25. Next week: **"THREE CASES OF MURDER."**

WHAT DOES AMERICA MEAN TO YOU? The Constitution, the Bill of Rights, or Eastland, Walter & McCarthy? Come and hear prominent speakers discuss this major question of our day. **DR. J. RAYMOND WALSH,** economist and former research director of C.I.O.; **RING LARDNER,** Jr., writer and one of the Hollywood Ten; **LOUISE GILBERT,** social worker and former chairman of Louisville branch of Women's International League for Peace & Freedom; **CONRAD LINN,** attorney in the Braden Case & for the NAACP and the ACLU. Entertainment—Bob & Louise DeCormier, Fri., Oct. 19, 8 p.m., at Hunts Point Palace, 953 Southern Blvd., Bronx. Cont. 50c. Ausp.: Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

Old-fashioned **HUNGARIAN VINTAGE FESTIVAL Sun., Oct. 7,** at International Park, 814 E. 225 St., Bronx, 1 block from White Plains Rd. Hungarian Music, delicious Hungarian goulash, strudel, homemade cakes, Tokay wines. Dancing. Adm. 75c. Ausp. Hungarian Press Committee. In case of rain, Festival will be held at Hungarian House, 2141 Southern Blvd., Bronx.

"A Marxist Criticism of the Communist Party's New Draft Program." Speaker: Harry Ring. Militant Forum, 116 University Place, Fri., Oct. 5, 8 p.m. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party.

Myra Tanner Weiss, **SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY** Candidate for Vice President, speaks on "American Workers Need a Labor Party." Fri., Oct. 12, 8 p.m., at 116 University Pl. (nr. Union Sq.)

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General

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"AID TO GREECE" — or — "AID TO GREEKS" or Greek Aid to to U.S. Progressives.

First: many thanks & much appreciation to the "12 good men & true"—half of whom contributed anonymously—to my agitational-advertising campaign on behalf of the Greek prisoners. Since this is likely the last of these ads, here's a partial report of the results. First, however, I must mention excellent, hard-hitting letter from London ("Terror in Greece"), printed in Sept. 8 NATION. I immediately penned an even more hard-hitting letter to the editors of NATION as a "follow-up" to the London letter. (Strike while the iron is hot! And keep it hot!)

One contributor wrote: "Tho I'm not Greek, I still don't want to be left out of this cause & don't want to feel like a viper when such gallant fighters can be saved from a hellish life with our help." Another contributor was one of the current Smith Act defendants!!

The district organizer of British Tobacco Workers Union wrote: "We organize sending of relief parcels to defendants of Tobacco Workers imprisoned on the islands & receive most touching letters of appreciation for little bit we are able to do to bring comfort to their sad lives."

With special reference to foregoing quotation, I shall end this ad series on the "Aesopian" note with which I began.

In ante-bellum (depression) days I met with an old hobo "deep in the heart of Texas." The old boy had been a hobo & pan-handler all his life, & was proud of it. He had cause to be, for he was a master of his "craft." He told of walking into a "short-order" restaurant one day & seeing all the stools occupied, notified all & sundry that he was asking for a hand-out. The waitress then handed a cup to the patron nearest the door. It was passed along to the end of the counter, and back down again. When it was handed to the old hobo he stared into it, and saw that it contained about 12c. He then shifted his gaze to the patrons at the counter and held it there until he caught the eye of each of them. He peered into the cup again, and then out once more at the patrons. Finally, he addressed them: "Maybe I should take up a collection for you people!" And (he said to me) "Their eyebrows all went up like a grapevine!"

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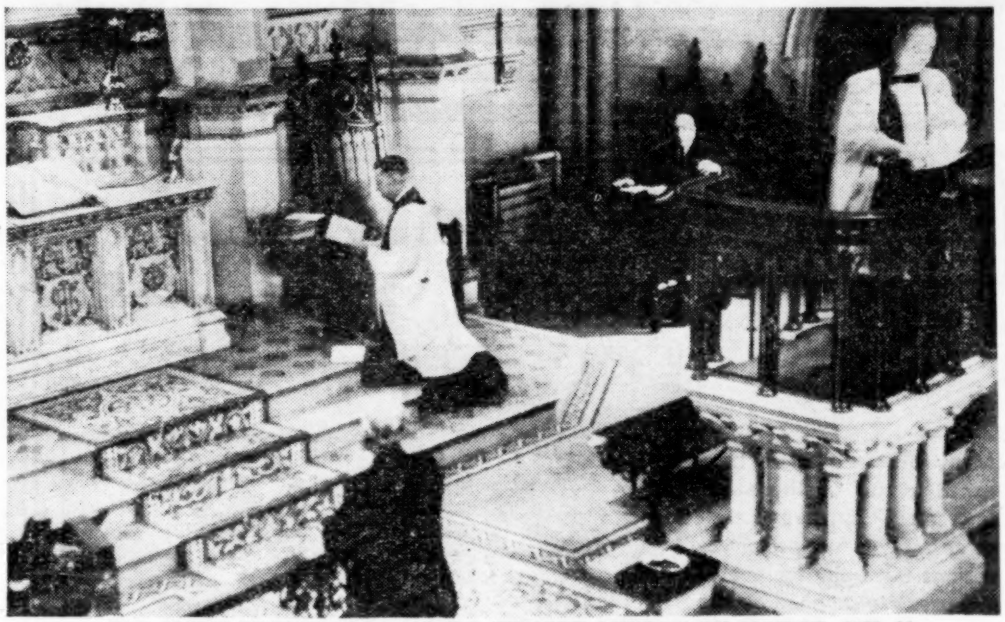
New York: 856 Lex. Ave., MU 6-7308
White Plains: 41 Mamaroneck Ave.
WH 8-4788



THE SCENE IN BROOKLYN'S HOLY TRINITY CHURCH ON SUNDAY, JAN. 11
Mr. Melish (c.) kneels on altar steps as another rector seeks to speak from pulpit

RECTOR STAYS

Melish wins new victory

THERE WAS REJOICING in Brooklyn's Trinity Church on Sept. 18 when parishioners scored what they hoped would be the final victory in their long struggle to retain the Rev. William Howard Melish as minister. On that day Supreme Court Referee John MacCrate ruled that a necessary quorum was not present last Feb. 6 when the anti-Melish vestrymen elected the Rev. Herman S. Sidener as rector of the church.

A past member of the Appellate Division bench, Referee MacCrate was appointed by his former associates to review the whole case and give a decision. The Appellate Division had previously upheld unanimously a lower court ruling denying an appeal by the anti-Melish vestrymen for a temporary injunction to restrain Mr. Melish from conducting services in the church. These vestrymen, who had failed of reelection April 2 when the parishioners had elected a new vestry pledged to consult the congregation's wishes in the matter of a rector, declared they would appeal the referee's decision.

THE PEOPLE IN PEWS: On behalf of the parishioners and himself, Mr. Melish said: "This outcome constitutes a vindication and proof that the actions we were compelled to carry out together this past winter at the Church . . . were not done in defiance of the Bishop of the Diocese nor in violation of the priestly obligations of a minister but under the Constitution and Canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S. in defense of the established rights and privileges of the people in the pews who in the final analysis make up and support the church."

Mr. Melish hoped that those who took the issue to court would abide by the referee's decision and "make it possible for the congregation . . . to proceed with its normal life of worship and community activity."

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SINGLE MALE out of town during week desires to share 2-rm. Brooklyn Heights apt. Call BEechview 2-2823.

MAN WANTS TO SHARE his small apt. with another man, Union Sq. neighborhood. Call evenings GR 3-5195.

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Men, women, opportunity, no investment, Part-time, fulltime, commission plus bonus plus retirable income. Start and earn $200 to $600 per month. Test sales and/or organizational ability. Call NA 8-3812, NI 8-6359.

PROMINENT COMPANY expanding to N.Y. area, needs 6 bus.-minded people to set up business. No investment. Selling optional. For appointment call evenings SH 3-5475.

PATRONIZE GUARDIAN ADVERTISERS

NEW YORK

JEFFERSON TOWN HALL

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 5, 8 P.M. ADMISSION $1

THREE VIEWS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY's NEW DRAFT RESOLUTION

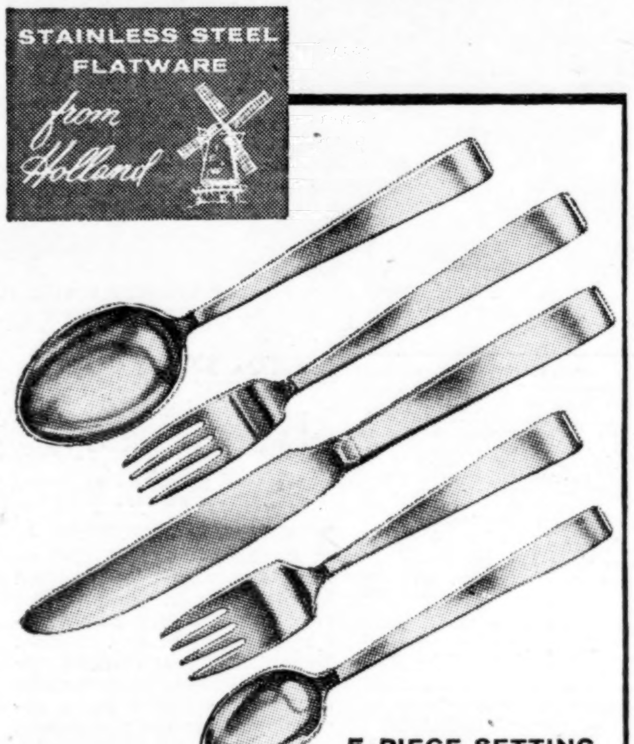
JOHN T. McMANUS JOSEPH STAROBIN MAX WEISS

Jefferson School of Social Science, 575 6th Av., New York

A MAIL ORDER SERVICE OFFERING CONSUMER-TESTED MERCHANDISE AT A SAVING

GBS GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE

Quality Flatware at Discount Prices!



Many of our readers have asked us for quality stainless steel flatware handsome enough for special occasions but built for everyday use. We shopped all the domestic and foreign lines now flooding the market, but had to reject almost all. Some were handsome but poorly made or overpriced, others, sturdy but clumsy.

Finally we found the right set. We chose the winner of the Good Design Award of the Museum of Modern Art, Cora pattern by Sola of Holland.

This is unusually beautiful flatware: simple lines with exquisite satin finished handles and polished bowls and tines. Even more, it is well made of heavyweight stainless steel capable of withstanding abuse. It is the kind of set you can use every day and at special parties to decorate your table.

And the price is right—we are offering it at only $3.95 per five-piece place setting — 30% below list price—and we pay postage anywhere in the U. S.

Of course, this is offered with the standing G B S money-back guarantee.

CORA pattern by SOLA

5-PIECE SETTING
$3.95
Regularly $5.60

Distinguished continental design... smartly fashioned, modern as tomorrow . . . with satin-finished handles, polished bowls and tines. So right with every table setting — in contemporary, provincial, or traditional homes! You'll want this lovely CORA pattern for yourself, for gifts. See it — today.

20 pc. Service for 4 .... $15.75
30 pc. Service for 6 .... $23.50
40 pc. Service for 8 .... $31.50

GOOD DESIGN
Good Design Award
Museum of Modern Art

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197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N. Y.

Description of Item	Amount

(N.Y.C. buyers add 3% sales tax)

TOTAL

No COD's Full payment must accompany each order. Make checks or money orders payable to Guardian Buying Service.

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GUARDIAN ANGEL LOTION SHAMPOO

$1 ppd.

Guardian Angel
Lotion Shampoo

A handy plastic bottle containing 9-12 months supply of this private formula shampoo with a quality detergent base. No unnecessary ingredients. A small amount gives you a full lather.

UNCONDITIONALLY GUARANTEED

the SPECTATOR

Notes from a journey

FIRST SIBERIAN DEPORTEE: "I was anti-Popoff—they gave me six years."

2nd deportee: "I was pro-Popoff—eight years."

3rd deportee: "That's funny, I'm Popoff—ten years."

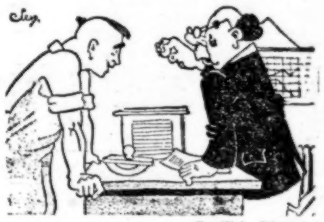
Heard it before? Now you hear it "behind the curtain"—told for laughs by rehabilitated Beria-Stalin victims themselves, and with the deportees described as "returning from Siberia."

* * *

SORRY FOR INTERRUPTION: A Moscow theater producer just back in town took his seat quietly the other day at a professional discussion on Shakespearean production methods. Rising in his turn, he said: "As I was saying when I last spoke to you . . ." The last time he spoke there was 20 years ago, just before the political police sent him to a Siberian camp.

* * *

NOBODY'S FREE: Margaret Schlauch, former New York University professor, told me this one in Warsaw where she's now prof.-ing. While taking a curative mud-bath, a Polish lady similarly engaged asked her why she left the U.S. "Well," said Margaret, "it got so over there that you were in trouble if you said a word in favor of peace." "It's the same all over," sighed the lady. "No free speech. Here you get into trouble if you say a word in favor of war."



Szpilki, Warsaw

BUREAUCRATIC INITIATIVE
Strict economy is to be observed in our work: the new warehouse will have to be built with the material obtained from the dismantling of the old warehouse; however, the old warehouse is to remain untouched until such time as the new one has been completed!

* * *

CAFE SOCIETY: Difference between expensive Moscow and N.Y. eateries is not so much in the food and drink—fancy stuff and lashings of it—but in the customers. The party giving the white-coated waiter the biggest workout on the Praga dining terrace consisted of a tieless, jacketless, frayed-shirted man with two young women dressed for Nedick's, but they could afford a seven-course celebration at the best place in town. "He's the man who repairs TV sets in our district," said one of our party, exchanging a vodka toast across the terrace.

* * *

IT'S THE SYSTEM: The public phone booth on Pushkin St. was elegant, but when I put in my coin nothing happened. Sighing irritatedly for the efficiency of capitalism, I banged on the instrument and, as my coin clattered out, felt a touch on my shoulder. "I think you'll find it works," said the man waiting behind me, "if you put in Soviet money." He picked out my Finnish coin and inserted a 15-kopek piece which, he insisted, was a gift for better understanding between nations. He was right.

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WHO'S AFRAID OF WHAT? In Leningrad's Park of Culture set on a river island, one of two New England women who got into conversation as we listened to an open-air concert said: "We knew nothing about this country except what we read in our papers, but when we saw an ad for all-inclusive tours we decided to take a look for ourselves. After two days we're astonished by all the good things we've seen being done." "When anyone starts talking about the Russians now," said the other, "I'm going to be ready to jump down their throats." "The strange thing was," said the first, "that when I went for my visa the man said: 'What do you want to go there for—aren't you afraid?' I said, 'What is there to be afraid of?' and he didn't seem to know." "It's those politicians," said the other. "I always try to vote for the best man but so often it's the one who shouts loudest that gets in." They had never heard of the GUARDIAN but had read in their papers about the attempt to jail a New Hampshire neighbor, Paul Sweezy of **Monthly Review.**

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CLOAK & DAGGER DEPT. (Cloaks No Longer Worn Divn.): A Moscow correspondent flying back from London just before the big air show attended by Gen. Twining & Co. had several NATO officers as fellow-travelers. "They were sitting with NATO maps spread on their laps, making little marks on them as we flew over Soviet territory," he told me. "Nobody paid them any attention."

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SPPED UP: "Please go slowly, I want to look at the city," I entreated my Moscow taxi-driver in vain; he accelerated as we approached a crossing, and my companion laughed at my suggestion that Moscow hackies value pedestrians' lives even lower than do Paris ones: "If he hits anyone he'll spend a few years in jail." In Leningrad, where the word "slow" seems equally unknown, I asked the chief cop at a 100,000-population precinct station: "Don't you have a lot of traffic accidents?" "Well," he said, "we used to get as many as 7 or 8 a month in this station, but now it's down to 2 or 3." For traffic violations cops can exact fines on the spot.

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THE RUDE HORSE: "This place," said the mayor of Leningrad, showing off the huge, magnificent palace housing the city soviet, "used to be the home of the Queen Mother, but she found it unsuitable and left some time before the revolution." "Was it too cramped for her?" I asked. "No," he said, leading me out on the balcony. "You see that horse statue in the middle of the square? They put the horse's front end facing the other way—and she said the end she had to look at ruined the view."

—**Cedric Belfrage**